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Asiatic Society Monographs,

VOL.

MESOPOTAMIA AND PERSIA UNDER THE MONGOLS,

IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY A.D.

From the NUZHAT-AL-ḲULŪB *of Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfi.*

BY

G. LE STRANGE.

YV. £ 21

LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
22, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.
1903.

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PREFACE.

THE Council of the Royal Asiatic Society having decided to republish the present paper separately, as one of the Asiatic Monographs, a new Map has been drawn on a larger scale than the one given in the *Journal* for January, 1902 (p. 73), where the names were found to be indistinctly written. I may take this opportunity of adding a few corrections which have come to notice since the paper was first printed, in addition to those given below on page 115 (p. 766 of the *Journal*), the first of which (on the Urmiyah Lake) refers to p. 38, note 1, of the present pagination.

In chapter 7, describing Rūm (p. 48, line 28, and p. 259 of the *Journal*), the Castle of Awnīk will be found marked, to the east of Erzerum, on the great Map of Armenia drawn by Mr. H. F. B. Lynch. On the same page (two lines from below) *Zūbarkī* should be Divrigī (i.e. Tephrike, the Paulician capital); and for *Dhūlū* Davalū is the true reading, a place situated a few miles south-east of Ḳayṣarīyah; these places are frequently mentioned by Ibn Bībī, an historian recently edited by Professor Houtsma, whom I have to thank for these and other corrections that he has been good enough to send me. Kāb or Gāb (p. 49, eight lines from below, and p. 260 of the *Journal*), not *Kāt*, is the true reading, as given in Ibn Bībī, and it lay between Tūḳāt and Zīlah. Zamandū (p. 50, line 10, and p. 261 of the *Journal*) is mentioned by Yāḳūt and Ibn Ḅībī and in the Tzamandos

of the Byzantines ; Kadūk (not *Kadūl*) is the modern Geduk to the east of Ḳayṣarīyah ; Ṭūz Aghāch (not *Ṭūr Aghāch* or *Ṭamar Aghāch*) is also given in Ibn Bībī, and lay near Ḳīr Shahr in the Salt District.

In chapter 14, describing Kirmān, the correction for the position of Sīrjān (p. 76, three lines from below, and p. 530 of the *Journal*) has already been given on p. 115 (p. 766). Shākhīn, not *Sākhis*, etc. (p. 81, line 5, and p. 535 of the *Journal*), is the true reading as given by Major Sykes. It lay south of Ḳāyin (*Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 406). The position of Ṭabas Masīnān (p. 81, line 17) can now be fixed, for the place was visited by Major Sykes (*loc. cit.*, p. 397). It lies about fifty miles east of Birjand ; it is still known by the old name, but is now surnamed, from being mostly inhabited by Sunnis, Ṭabas Sunnī-Khānah.

In chapter 17, on Khurāsān, it may be mentioned that the Amīr Chūpān (p. 83, line 26, and p. 734 of the *Journal*) was the celebrated Regent of Mongol Persia after the death of Uljaytū, during the minority of Sulṭān Abu Sa'īd. Further, a stupid mistake must be rectified, where, on p. 86, line 10 (and p. 737 of the *Journal*), Ḥakīm Burḳā'ī (as the name should be read) is the well-known veiled Prophet of Khursārān, and the line following should stand thus :—"had lived, who was known as the Moon-maker (Sāzandah-Māh) of Nakhshab, in Transoxiana" (cf. *Literary History of Persia*, by E. G. Browne, p. 319).

In the Itineraries a few corrections may be noticed. In Route III (p. 99, line 4 ff. ; p. 750 of the *Journal*) the stages are in wrong order. We should read :—"from Farāshah to the Nil Canal in 7 farsakhs, passing . . . Kūthā Rabbā . . . to the left of the road ; then, with the city of Bābil lying . . . on the right hand, in 2 farsakhs to the city of Ḥillah. Thence it is 7 farsakhs

to the city of Kūfah," etc. And as regards Farāshah, this place is mentioned by Ibn Jubay (*Text*, p. 217), who passed it on his road north to Baghdād. In Route XVIII (p. 106, line 23, and p. 757 of the *Journal*) the town in Bādghīs given as *Tūn* should be read Bawan, otherwise called Babnah, as given by Yāḳūt, i, 764. In Route XIX the latter part should be corrected from Professor De Goeje's translation of the Turkish text (p. 347) of the *Jihān Numā*, given in his work *Das alte Bett des Oxus* (p. 112). We should read: "Hazārasp 9 farsakhs to Dih Azraḳ (Blue village), thence 7 to Rākhushmīthan, thence 6 to Andarastān, thence 2 to the city of Nuzwār, and then 6 to Urganj." Finally, in Route XXVIII (p. 111, line 17 and five lines from below, and p. 762 of the *Journal*), "the city of Ṣaj," which lay between Shīrāz and the coast, opposite Ḳays Island, may very likely be identical with the town of Jamm mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī (*Text*, p. 106), who writes that of the Sīrāf District there were three chief cities, "to wit, Sīrāf, Najīram, and Jamm," but no mention of this place appears, as far as is known, in any other geographer.

In regard to the new Map, some places have had still to be marked by numbers, and the names of these must be sought, according to their Provinces, in the lists given on pages 25 and 26 (*Journal*, pp. 73, 74).

G. Le S.

November, 1903.

PERSIA UNDER THE MONGOLS.

It is very generally a matter of complaint that the lithographed editions of Persian and Arabic works published in the East are, for the most part, unprovided with any index or full table of contents; and, further, that when the book treats of geography or history, the proper names of both persons and places are too often given in a manner that at first sight defies identification. Half a loaf, however, is proverbially better than no bread, and, until from some quarter funds are forthcoming to defray the cost of printing Persian texts in Europe, scholars would often be able to make use of the editions lithographed in India or elsewhere, if the true reading of the proper names were fixed by a collation of the best manuscripts, and if a full table of contents were available for purposes of reference. In many cases also a Persian work will only contain one part, or a series of chapters, that pre-eminently is of interest to Western scholars: and the remark, of course, applies more especially to the Cosmographies where the geographical chapters alone are of first-rate importance, as also to those numerous Universal Histories where only the concluding sections, dealing with the author's own time, can in any way be considered as of primary authority. An instance in point is, I consider, the cosmographical work of Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfi, which forms the subject of the present article, and of which a lithographed edition appeared in Bombay in 1894 (A.H. 1311) under the editorship of Mírzá Mahdí Shírází, being published by Mírzá Muḥammad Shírází, surnamed Malik-al-Kuttáb, or the Chief of the Scriveners.

Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfi and his two principal works—the history called the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah*, and the *Nuzhat-al-Ḳulūb*, which last is now under discussion—were fully noticed by Mr. E. G. Browne in this Journal in a paper on "The Sources of Dawlatshāh" (J.R.A.S. for January, 1899), and more recently (October, 1900) he has given us a translation of the section on the "Biographies of the Persian Poets" from the *Guzīdah*, with a detailed account of the contents of that historical work, of which he hopes later on to publish an edition of the Persian text. As a complement and commentary to the *Guzīdah*, the geographical part of the *Nuzhat-al-Ḳulūb* is of considerable importance. Further, and from the point of view of historical geography, it is of special interest, since it gives us a detailed description of Persia in the age immediately succeeding that of the travels of Marco Polo. The first half of the fourteenth century A.D. may indeed be regarded as a turning-point in the history of Western Asia, being a period of comparative calm coming between the epoch-marking conquests of the Mongols under Changhīz Khān and the no less revolutionary period of conquest by Timur. From a geographical point of view it was a time of transition. Before this we have the lands of Islām under the Abbasid Caliphs, as described by the Arab geographers Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, and Muḳaddasī; after this there is Western Asia, as shown on our present maps, which last may be held to date from the changes effected by the conquests of Timur and the subsequent partition of his empire among his descendants and successors.

Nearly forty years ago Monsieur Barbier de Meynard (now director of the *École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* in Paris) gave us the translation of the greater part of the geographical section of the *Nuzhat-al-Ḳulūb* in the notes to his well-known *Dictionnaire de la Perse*,[1] which is based on the geographical encyclopædia of Yāḳūt. To the information contained in this book I must express my great indebtedness, and I may take the occasion of bearing witness to the

[1] Small 4to. Paris, Imprimerie Impériale, 1861.

admirable accuracy of Monsieur B. de Meynard's work, which, it should be remembered, had to be entirely based on *manuscript* material, being translated directly from the Paris MSS. of the *Mu'jam-al-Buldān*. Since 1861 the whole text of Yāḳūt has been edited by Professor Wüstenfeld; also, in his *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, Professor de Goeje has now given us admirable editions of nearly all the earlier Arab geographers: it is therefore very easy to verify, by a reference to the texts, the translations given by Monsieur B. de Meynard; and it will be remembered that the *Dictionnaire de la Perse* is still the only portion of Yāḳūt's great Encyclopædia of which a complete translation exists in any European language. Seeing, therefore, that we have here a translation of all the longer articles in the *Nuzhat* which treat of the towns described by Ḥamd-Allah, I shall only attempt in this paper to complete his lists of names, referring my readers to the pages of the *Dictionnaire de la Perse* for all further information in detail. My arrangement of the materials will, however, be somewhat different, for the *Dictionnaire de la Perse* being set in alphabetical order, no account is taken of the enumeration of the places as grouped by Ḥamd-Allah under the various provinces, and this arrangement, for the elucidation of the historical geography of the period, is, I deem, of much importance. Then, again, Monsieur B. de Meynard, as he acknowledges in his preface,[1] has made no attempt to identify the sites of places mentioned by Ḥamd-Allah, as, indeed, this was inevitable forty years ago, for our maps of Persia were then in many parts a blank. Since that time, however, a host of travellers and explorers have filled in the names, and at the present day most part of the great plateau of Īrān has been explored. I need only mention the numerous excellent maps published by General Houtum

[1] Op. cit., Préface, p. xx: "Les questions si délicates de topographie ancienne ne peuvent être abordées avec sûreté qu'après l'étude préalable des documents indigènes. J'espère qu'il me sera donné un jour de travailler à la solution de ce difficile problème, au moins, en ce qui touche la Perse: aujourd'hui je l'ai écarté de propos délibéré."

Schindler in the Berlin *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde*, and the maps given by Monsieur J. de Morgan in his *Mission Scientifique en Perse*—which last is still in course of publication—as instances of completed surveys of the individual provinces under investigation; while in the numerous papers devoted to Persia contained in recent volumes of the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society I have found much to aid me in the identification of ancient with modern sites. My mainstay, however, has been the great Map of Persia, in six sheets, on the scale of sixteen miles to the inch, published by the War Office Intelligence Department in 1886.

For the true spelling of the place-names[1] I have had recourse to the systematic Itineraries given by Ibn Khurdādbih and Ḳudāmah, supplemented by the detail of routes found in the works of Ya'ḳūbī, Ibn Rustah, Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawḳal, and Muḳaddasī, all of which date from the middle of the third to the last quarter of the fourth century A.H. (ninth and tenth centuries A.D.). These mediæval Arab Road-books have enabled me to correct, and hence profit by, the very full Itinerary which Ḥamd-Allah himself gives at the close of his description of Īrān. This Persian Itinerary is now published for the first time, and it has made the location of a number of mediæval towns and districts possible, all traces of which have long since disappeared from the modern map. As an instance I may mention the Mint-city of Sābūrkhwāst in Luristān, which Ḥamd-Allah shows to be *not* the modern Khurramābād, as has often been supposed; then some important details are given about Sīrjān, the capital of Kirmān, and about Old Hurmuz; and we are now enabled to fix approximately by these Persian Itineraries the positions of many lost towns such as Ṭāliḳān and Faryāb of south-eastern Khurāsān; also Kāghaz-Kunān and Bajarvān,

[1] The spelling of Persian place-names is far from being consistent. The Persian for 'village,' now written and pronounced *Dih* (vowel short), is generally in the MSS. written *Dīh*, with the vowel long. Other common variations are Iṣfahān or Isfahān, Hūrmūz or Hurmuz, Ṭihrān or Tihrān, Ḳuhistān or Kūhistān.

once important cities on the great northern high road from Adharbayjān towards the Caucasus frontier, besides many villages and post-stations.

On the vexed question of the lower course of the Oxus during the middle ages, and its outflow into the Caspian, Ḥamd-Allah has important information to give. The detailed account of the provinces into which Persia in his day was divided shows, by a comparison with the provincial frontiers as given by the Arab geographers of Abbasid times, the changes effected by the Mongol conquest, and the later administration of the Īl-Khāns, who built Sulṭānīyah in Persian 'Irāḳ to be their capital, and to take the place of Baghdād as the Metropolis of Western Asia—Mesopotamia being henceforth counted as merely a province of Persia. The most notable change in the political map of Īrān is the formation of the new province of Kurdistān, which was taken from the western half of the Arab province of Jibāl (Media), the remaining, or eastern, portion of the older Jibāl province now coming to be more generally known as Persian 'Irāḳ. Then, again, all the Yazd district, which had formerly been counted as of Fārs, was now given to Persian 'Irāḳ, thus, in compensation for Kurdistān, which had been taken away, enlarging the older frontier of the Jibāl to the eastward, and so rounding off what was now the central province of Īrān under the administration of the Īl-Khāns. Lastly, on the Persian Gulf region, Ḥamd-Allah divides off Shabānkārah from the south-eastern part of Fārs, making of Shabānkārah a separate province, of which the ancient Dārābjird and Lār (a town unknown to the earlier geographers) were the chief centres of population.

Ḥamd-Allah personally was well fitted thus to describe Īrān, for there is evidence that he had himself travelled over the greater part of the country. In the matter of frontiers and capital cities he was trained in office-work connected with the taxation of the provinces, being one who held by inheritance the post of Mustawfi or Accountant-general, this post having been in his family since the days of his great-grandfather, who was superintendent of the

finances of 'Irāḳ in Abbasid times, before the first Mongol invasion. Ḥamd-Allah himself had served under Rashīd-ad-Dīn (the author of the *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, published in part by E. Quatremère), the celebrated minister of Ghāzān Khān, and the present description of Persia and Mesopotamia, though completed in 740 (1340 A.D.), may be taken to represent the country as it existed under the government of that Īl-Khān and his successors Uljaytū and Abu-Sa'īd (brother and nephew of Ghāzān) in whose service Ḥamd-Allah held the office of Mustawfi.

At the head of most of the chapters describing each province of the Īlkhānid empire in Persia and Mesopotamia Ḥamd-Allah has given the sum of the provincial revenue paid in his own time. These figures may be best summarized in a note,[1] and they are of interest as showing the financial condition of Persia under the Īl-Khāns. It must, however, be observed that Mustawfi very frequently also gives, under the separate articles, the state-revenues derived from the towns; hence the sums given in our footnote probably should not be held to represent the sum-total of the provincial taxes, for, while it is nowhere clearly stated whether or not these individual sums formed part of the aggregate, the revenues of all the chief towns are not given. From the point of view of Numismatics an interest lies in the statement repeated many times by Mustawfi (L. 133*d*, 170*f*, etc.) that in his day the currency-dīnār (*Dīnār-i-Rāij*), which was used in all accounts, a gold coin that possibly was only nominal (or but seldom coined), was reckoned to be worth six (silver) dirhams of the Abbasids;

[1] Reckoned in currency-dīnārs (four of these being about equivalent to the pound sterling), and in the year 35 of the Īlkhānī Era (A.D. 1335), Arabian 'Irāḳ paid 3,000,000 dīnārs; Rūm (Asia Minor), 3,300,000; Armenia, 390,000; Upper Mesopotamia, 1½ million dīnārs; Kurdistān, 201,500; Khūzistān, 325,000; Fārs, 2,871,200; Shabānkārah, 266,100; and Kirmān, 676,500 dīnārs. The list of provinces, it will be observed, is not complete. Mustawfi further, in many cases, records the revenues of former periods, notably for Saljūḳ times during the later centuries of the Abbasid Caliphate, but these seem hardly worth tabulating, for the sums mentioned are not likely to be very reliable.

hence, as already said in our footnote, four of these currency-dīnārs were about equal in value to one pound sterling.

The present paper, it will be seen, only attempts the summary of Part II in the Third Book of the *Nuzhat*, and of this all that is now here given is the corrected list of the names of places, with the reference to the pages of the lithographed edition, and to the authority responsible for the true reading of the name. An attempt also has been made in every case to identify the site, or the fact is stated when the position is unknown.

The text as found in the Bombay Lithograph has been edited with almost incredible carelessness. The place-names heading each article are written indifferently with or without diacritical points, hence very often these names are perfectly illegible. Towns of a somewhat similar name in the written character, but quite well known, and, in point of fact, occupying different provinces—such, for example, as *Ardabīl* in Adharbayjān and *Irbīl* in Upper Mesopotamia—are as a rule here systematically confounded one with the other, and a place like Tawwaj, the celebrated commercial emporium of Fārs in the earlier middle ages, appears in the Bombay text as Nūḥ, that is to say, Noah. Similarly absurd mistakes recur again and again, as, for instance, where our author, speaking of the rivers of Persia (which for the most part do not find their exit to the sea), describes each in turn as "flowing out or becoming lost in the Desert (*Mafāzah*)," for which the Bombay edition invariably has the statement that the river becomes "lost in a cave (*Maghārah*)," the excuse for which nonsense being that in the Arabic character there is a similarity between *Maghārah* and *Mafāzah* by a change of diacritical points.

For obtaining a correct text, I have collated (more or less completely) eight of the best MSS. found in the British Museum, also the six MSS. of the Bodleian at Oxford, and two MSS. belonging to the University Library at Cambridge. For Chapter 12, describing the province of Fārs, I have been able to get the true readings for a number of place-names, not given by Iṣṭakhrī or the other Arab geographers,

by collating the MS. of the *Fārs Nāmah* recently acquired by the British Museum. This is a Persian work on history and geography written in the first years of the sixth century A.H. (the twelfth A.D.) by a certain Ibn-al-Balkhī who flourished at the court of the Saljūḳ Sultān Muḥammad, surnamed Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn, son of Malik Shāh; the exact date of the writing of the *Fārs Nāmah* does not appear to be mentioned in the MS., but the writer's patron (whom he mentions as still reigning) succeeded in 498 (1104 A.D.) and ruled till 511 (A.D. 1117), which fixes the period within narrow limits.

I have also made use of another unique MS. which the British Museum possesses, namely, the unnamed geography which is attributed to Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, the Secretary of Timur. This work, which was written in 820 A.H. (1417 A.D.), copies a good deal from the *Nuzhat*, but adds at times geographical details not given by Ḥamd-Allah. For instance, there are in this work some important passages which throw light on the vexed question of the course taken by the Oxus during the middle ages (these will be given in the notes to Chapter 17 on Khurāsān); and it is worthy of remark that Ḥāfiẓ Abrū himself appears to have travelled far and wide through the broad empire of Timur, so that much of his information is that of an eye-witness, and comes to us at first-hand.[1]

[1] The British Museum MS. of the *Fārs Nāmah* is that numbered Or. 5,983; the work by Ḥāfiẓ Abrū is that numbered Or. 1,577; and this last is described in vol. i, p. 421, of the *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, by Dr. Rieu. The British Museum MSS. of the *Nuzhat* that I have used are those numbered Add. 7,708, 7,709, 7,710, 16,735, 16,736, 16,737, 23,543, and 23,544 (cf. op. cit., p. 418). The Oxford MSS. are those numbered 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, and 411 in the *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts* edited by Messrs. Ethé and Sachau. The two Cambridge MSS. are those given under the numbers Add. 2,624 and 3,146; these are described on pp. 201, 202 of the Cambridge Persian Catalogue written by Mr. E. G. Browne. The two Cambridge MSS. I had the very great convenience of collating at my London lodgings in June and July, 1900, for, with exceptional generosity, the authorities of that University consented to grant these MSS. to me on loan, Mr. E. G. Browne giving security for their safe return. I must take this occasion of rendering him my thanks for this friendly action in my behalf; to the Vice-Chancellor, and to Mr. Jenkinson, the Librarian of the University Library, also I feel very deeply indebted for the loan. For the *Fārs Nāmah* MS. I must express my thanks to Mr. A. G. Ellis, of the British Museum, who drew my attention to this new acquisition.

The *Ẓafar Nāmah*, describing the campaigns of Timur, written by 'Alī of Yazd (and translated at the beginning of the last century into French by Petis de la Croix),[1] has been of use in identifying some of the place-names given in the *Nuzhat*, and often the position of places is roughly indicated by a reference to the marches of Timur, and this enables us to identify the sites of lost towns. A work which also seemed to promise much help is the well-known geography called the *Jihān Numā*, compiled by the great bibliographer Ḥājī Khalfah in Turkish at the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D. Ḥājī Khalfah repeatedly quotes the *Nuzhat*, and, as he evidently had excellent MSS. to work from, his readings of the place-names are valuable. Unfortunately, however, like all Oriental writers he is entirely uncritical. In the eastern regions, which lie beyond his personal ken, he inserts descriptions of Sīrjān (in Kirmān), Zaranj (in Sīstān), and Arrajān (in Fārs), as though all these cities still existed in his day, when we know from history that, as a fact, the two former towns were destroyed by Timur, while Arrajān even before the time of Timur had been replaced by Bihbahān, which is the present existing town, of which place, however, Ḥājī Khalfah makes absolutely no mention. Then, again, with no mark of the borrowing, Ḥājī Khalfah frequently makes mention of towns, giving the sums of revenue due from each (e.g. Salam and 'Ayn in Armenia); but in most cases these appear to be simply paragraphs taken over bodily from the *Nuzhat*, and the sums for the taxes are those already given by Mustawfi, writing under the Īlkhānid administration three centuries before the time when the *Jihān Numā* was compiled.[2]

[1] In quoting the spelling of names, the references are to the edition of the Persian text of the *Ẓafar Nāmah* published in the series of the Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta, 1887). The French translation, called *Histoire de Timur-Bec*, was printed in four volumes 12mo, Paris, 1722.

[2] The Turkish text of the *Jihān Numā* (to which my quotations refer) was printed in Constantinople A.H. 1145 (1732) by Ibrāhīm Efendi, and a Latin translation of this work was made by M. Norberg, and published in 1818 at Londini Gothorum (Lund), in two volumes; but the place-names in this translation are not, as a rule, spelt correctly.

In conclusion of these preliminary notes, I may remark that for the true reading of the place-names I have relied far more on the authority of Yāḳūt, supplemented by the older Arab geographers (the texts, namely, in the eight volumes of the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* of De Goeje) and our present maps, than on the readings in the diverse MSS. of the *Nuzhat*, which last are often incredibly incorrect, from the carelessness of the scribes. Where the modern map and the Arab geographers together fail us (e.g. in some sections of the Itineraries), the spelling of the place-names becomes quite uncertain, and the diverse readings often equal in number that of the manuscripts consulted, each scribe having added diacritical points and letters according to fancy. The Persians are, indeed, far behind the Arab scribes in matter of accuracy in copying their texts; and, curiously enough, where a criterion has existed for settling the true reading, I have often found that the older MSS. of the *Nuzhat* were quite as incorrectly written as the more modern copies of the work.

I have been unable to include in the following pages the names of all the villages given by Mustawfi in his lists; indeed, as a general rule, those names only are inserted which either occur in the works of the Arab geographers, or are found still to exist on our modern maps, or, finally, are inserted in the Itinerary. An exhaustive collating of all the MSS. would be required for fixing the readings of the outstanding names in Mustawfi's lists of sub-districts and villages; and even then accuracy would probably be unattainable, until the topography of Persia becomes more accurately and completely known. In the following pages, however, all the separate articles, whether of towns or districts, given by Mustawfi have been inserted, and the attempt is in every case made to identify the places mentioned; or, when the present maps and the Arab geographers alike are at fault, and no clear indication of the site is attainable, some indication is given of the region in which the place or its ruins should be sought for.

Before proceeding to a detailed examination of that section

of the *Nuzhat* which especially deals with the Īlkhānid kingdom of Īrān (Persia with Mesopotamia), it will be convenient to give first the general Table of Contents of the book, premising that the *Nuzhat-al-Ḳulūb* is a cosmographical work, of which a part only treats of geography, and that it is divided into five sections, namely, an *Introduction*, *Three Books*, and a *Conclusion*, these sections being in many cases further subdivided into Chapters and various Appendixes or sub-sections.[1]

INTRODUCTION (called *Fātiḥah* or *Muḳaddamah*): treating of the Spheres, the Heavenly Bodies, and the Elements, followed by a description of the inhabited Quarters of the Earth, with an explanation of Latitude and Longitude, and the division into Climates, L. 8*h*.

FIRST BOOK (*Maḳālah-i-Awwal*): describing the Mineral, Vegetable, and Animal Kingdoms, L. *inset* 21*z*.

SECOND BOOK: Man, his nature, faculties, and qualities, L. 49*a*.

THIRD BOOK, divided into four Parts (*Ḳism*).

PART I: Mecca, Medina, and the Mosque of Jerusalem, L. 116*o*.

PART II: The Lands of Īrān, divided into twenty Chapters (*Bāb*)[2] and five Appendices (*Makhlaṣ* or *Faṣl*).

Ch. 1, 'Irāḳ 'Arab, 132*p*.* *Ch.* 2, 'Irāḳ 'Ajam, 141*w*.* *Ch.* 3, Adharbayjān, 153*m*.* *Ch.* 4, Mughān and Arrān, 159*u*.* *Ch.* 5, Shīrvān, 160*x*.* *Ch.* 6, Gurjistān,

[1] The references (for distinction, where any ambiguity may occur, more especially marked L.) are to the lithographed edition, already indicated, of the *Nuzhat*. This contains in all 372 pages of text, which, for some unexplained reason, are not numbered consecutively. The pagination runs from pp. 1 to 48, this being followed by an inset of pp. 1 to 112, after which comes p. 49, thence running on continuously to the close of the work, which is numbered p. 260. Each page contains twenty-five lines of text, which for convenience I refer to under the letters of the alphabet: thus 132*z* and 133*a* indicate the last line and the first line of the text on these two pages respectively.

[2] The Persian text of the chapters marked * has been printed by C. Schefer in his *Supplément au Siasset Nameh*, Paris, 1897, pp. 141–230. Of those marked † the text is given by B. Dorn in vol. iv of his *Muhammedanische Quellen*, St. Petersburg, 1858, pp. 81–87.

161*h*.* *Ch.* 7, Rūm, 161*q*. *Ch.* 8, Armenia, 164*o*.* *Ch.* 9, Jazīrah, 165*n*. *Ch.* 10, Kurdistān, 167*n*. *Ch.* 11, Khūzistān, 168*m*.* *Ch.* 12, Fārs, 170*b*. *Ch.* 13, Shabānkārah, 181*g*. *Ch.* 14, Kirmān, 181*s*. *Ch.* 15, The Desert, 182*w*. *Ch.* 16, Nīmrūz and Kūhistān, 183*e*. *Ch.* 17, Khurāsān, 185*e*. *Ch.* 18, Māzandarān, 190*f*.† *Ch.* 19, Ḳūmis, 191*b*.† *Ch.* 20, Gīlān, 191*s*.†

Appendix I, the Itineraries, divided into the following sections:—Route i, Sulṭānīyah to Hamadān and Kanguvār, 192*w*. Route ii, Kanguvār to Ḥulwān, 192*z*. Route iii, Ḥulwān to Baghdād and Najaf, 193*c*. After which, 193*k*, come the pilgrim routes across the Arabian Desert to Mecca, Medina, and back to Najaf. Route iv, Baghdād to Baṣrah and to the Island of Ḳays, 195*g*. Route v, Baghdād to Raḥbah, 195*v*. Route vi, Baghdād to Mosul, 195*x*. Route vii, Kanguvār to Isfahān, 195*q*. Route viii, Sulṭānīyah to Sūmghān, 196*d*. Route ix, Sūmghān to Busṭām, 196*d*. Route x, Busṭām to Nīshāpūr, 196*n*. Route xi, Nīshāpūr to Sarakhs and Marv-ar-Rūd, 196*u*. Route xii, Marv-ar-Rūd to Balkh and the Oxus, 197*a*. Route xiii, Busṭām to Farāvah, 197*j*. Route xiv, Farāvah to Urganj, 197*l*. Route xv, Nīshāpūr to Herat, 197*r*. Route xvi, Nīshāpūr to Turshīz, 197*x*. Route xvii, Herat to Zaranj, MS. only. Route xviii, Herat to Marv-ar-Rūd and on to Great Marv, 198*a*. Route xix, Great Marv to Urganj, 198*e*. Route xx, Sulṭānīyah to Bajarvān, 198*n*. Route xxi, Bajarvān to Maḥmūdābād, 198*s*. Route xxii, Bajarvān to Tiflīs, 198*u*. Route xxiii, Bajarvān to Tabrīz, 199*b*. Route xxiv, Sulṭānīyah to Tabrīz, 199*h*. Route xxv, Tabrīz to Sīvās, 199*n*. Route xxvi, Sūmghān to Isfahān, 199*v*. Route xxvii, Isfahān to Shīrāz, 200*c*. Route xxviii, Shīrāz to Ḳays Island, and thence by sea to India, 200*l*. Route xxix, Shīrāz to Kāzirūn, 200*x*. Route xxx, Shīrāz to Hurmūz, 200*z*. Route xxxi, Shīrāz to Kirmān, 201*f*. Route xxxii, Shīrāz to Yazd, 201*k*. Route xxxiii, Shīrāz to Arrajān and Bustānak, 201*p*.

Appendix II, Mountains:—Alvand, 202*p*; Askanbarān, 202*u*; Bīsutūn, 203*f*; Barchīn, 203*s*; Darāk, 203*y*; Damāvand, 203*z*; Darābjird mountains, 204*f*; Rastaḳ, 204*g*;

Rāsmand, 204*k*; Rākhid, 204*n*; Kūh-Zar and Zardah-kūh, 204*q*; Sablān, 204*w*; Sarāhand, 205*c*; Sahand, 205*h*; Siyāh-kūh, 205*k*; Sīpān, 205*l*; Shaḳāḳ, 205*m*; Ṣūr, 205*p*; Ṭāruḳ, 205*r*; Ṭabarak, 205*t*; Ḳārin, 205*x*; Ḳabalah, 206*d*; Ḳafs, 206*e*; Kargas, 206*e*; Kirmān mountains, 206*h*; Gulistān, 206*k*; Gulshān, 206*l*; Gunābād and Zībad, 206*n*; Kūshad, 206*o*; Kīlūyah, 206*q*; Māst-kūh, 206*r*; Mūrjān, 206*t*; Nīsht, 206*v*; Salt mountain of Āvah, 206*x*; Hajam, 207*a*; Harīn, 207*b*.

Appendix III: Mines and Minerals, 207*d*.

Appendix IV, Rivers:—Sayḥān and Jayḥān (the Sarus and Pyramus of Asia Minor), 211*q*; Frāt (Euphrates), 211*u*; Nīl (the Nile), 212*g*; Itil (the Volga), 212*v*; Atrak, 212*z*; Aras, 213*b*; Ilāḳ, 213*e*; Būy, 213*f*; Bardāl, 213*j*; Jayḥūn (Oxus), 213*l*; Jurjān, 213*u*; Dijlah (Tigris), 213*x*; Dujayl (Kārūn), 214*e*; Dizfūl river, 214*h*; Upper and Lower Zāb, 214*j*; Murghāb, 214*n*; Zandah-rūd, 214*r*; Zakān, 214*z*; Safīd-rūd,[1] 215*c*; Sayḥūn or Shāsh (Jaxartes), 215*h*; Shāhrūd, 215*n*; ʻĀs (Orontes), 215*q*; Khitay river, 215*s*; Farah-rūd, 215*t*; Ḳawʻah (or Ḳarʻah), 215*u*; Karkhah, 215*w*; Kur of Georgia, 215*y*; Kur of Fārs, 216*a*; Gang (Ganges), 216*f*; Mīhrān (Indus), 216*h*; Nahrawān, 216*l*; Harī-rūd, 216*p*; Hirmand (Helmund), 216*s*; Jāyij-rūd, 216*v*; Garm-rūd or Kūh-rūd, 216*x*; Ḳum river, 216*z*; Gāvmāsā, 217*a*; Zanjān river, 217*c*; Abhar river, 217*g*; Kazvīn rivers, 217*j*, *q*, and *t*; Ṭārum river, 217*k*; Kāshān river, 217*m*; Muzdaḳān, 217*n*; Kardān, 217*r*; Kharraḳān rivers, 217*s* and *v*; Andarāb, 217*w*; Ahar river, 217*y*; Awjān river, 218*a*; Jaghtū, 218*b*; Sarāv, 218*c*; Sard-rūd, 218*e*; Sanjid and Kadpū, 218*f*; Ṣāfī, 218*g*; Shāl, 218*h*; Garm-rūd, 218*h*; Mihrān-rūd, 218*j*; Marand river, 218*l*; Miyānij river, 218*n*; Taghtū, 218*p*; Hasht-rūd, 218*q*; Pulvār, 218*r*; Ṭāb, 218*s*; Masin, 218*u*; Shīrīn, 218*v*; Sitādkān, 218*w*; Jarrah river, 218*x*; Darkhuvayd, 218*y*; Khwāndān, 218*z*; Ratīn, 219*a*; Jarshiḳ, 219*b*; Ikhshīn, 219*d*; Sam-rūd, 219*d*; Div-rūd, 219*e*; Nishāvar river, 219*f*; Barārah, 219*g*; Balīkh, 219*j*; Khābūr,

[1] Here, and in many other instances, the form of the name given is Āb-i-Safīd-Rūd, literally 'Water (or River) of the White-river,' the word for river being repeated twice.

219*k*; Hirmās, 219*m*; Tharthār, 219*o*; Ṣūr, 219*p*; Shūrāb, 219*q*; Dizbād, 219*r*; Saḥr, 219*s*; Kharū, 219*t*; Tūshḳān, 219*u*; Pusht-farūsh, 219*v*; Khajank, 219*x*; Farajah, 219*x*; Dahar, 219*y*; Baḳīrān, 219*z*; Chārsaf-rūd, 220*a*; 'Aṭshābad river, 220*b*; Vakhshāb, 220*d*; Jaghān, 220*e*; Bayāt river, 220*g*; Daḳūḳ river, 220*j*; Barāz-ar-Rūz river, 220*l*.

. *Appendix V*, Seas and Lakes:—The seven Seas, 220*n*; Sea of China, 220*w*; the Indian Sea, 221*t*; the Persian Gulf, 222*t*; the Red Sea, 223*e*; the Sea of the Franks, 223*r*; the Western Sea, 224*c*; the Sea of Rūm, 224*m*; the Sea of Darkness, 224*y*; the Eastern Sea, 225*b*; the Caspian, 225*d*; Lake Bakhtigān, 225*y*; Lake of Dasht Arzin, 226*a*; the Jirrah Lake, 226*b*; Māhalūyah Lake, 226*c*; Lake of Darkhuvayd, 226*d*; the Lakes of Māshuyah and of Murghzār Isfandān, 226*e*; Urmīyah Lake, 226*f*; Arjīsh Lake (Van), 226*j*; Gukchah Lake, 226*k*; Chashmah Sabz, 226*l*; the Zarah Lake, 226*p*; the Khwārizm Lake (Aral Sea), 226*q*; the Lake of Tinnis (Egypt), 226*u*.

PART III: The Border Lands of Īrān, that at times have been subject thereof.

This part gives a number of short articles on the following countries and towns:—Alexander and the Wall against Gog and Magog, 227*d*; Bāb-al-Abwāb, 227*k*; Samarḳand, 228*d*; Siyāvush-gird, 228*u*; Farghānah, 228*x*; Alexandria, 229*b*; Damascus, 230*d*; Raḥbah, 230*z*; Cairo and Egypt, 231*c*; Southern Regions, 232*j*; Northern Regions, beyond Bāb-al-Abwāb with the Gog and Magog Wall, 232*p*.

PART IV: Foreign Lands that never have been subject to Īrān.

This part briefly notices the following cities and lands with others:—Balāsaghūn, 233*q*; Thibet, 233*r*; China, 233*z*; Khitay, 234*c*; Khoten, 234*f*; Khwārizm, 234*g*; the Desert of Ḳipchāḳ, 234*l*; Lands of Gog and Magog, 234*q*; Bulghār, 234*s*; various Indian cities, 234*t*; Ṣaghāniyān, 234*w*; Ḳarāḳorum, 235*c*; Kandahār, 235*f*; Kābul, 235*h*; Kashmīr, 235*j*; Māchīn (China), 235*m*; Transoxiana, 235*r*; Makrān, 235*w*; India, 235*z*; Dehli, 236*b*; Yaman, 236*f*; Aden, 236*k*; Oman, 236*m*; Yamāmah, 236*n*; Ḥaḍramawt, 236*t*; Little Armenia, 236*v*; Ifrīḳīyah, 236*y*; Andalūs, 237*d*; the Arabian Desert, 238*c*; Ḥijāz, 238*m*; Syria, 238*q*;

Tarsus, the Cave of the Seven Sleepers, 239*c*; Tangiers, 239*h*; the Lands of the Franks, Constantinople, 239*r*; Palestine, 239*v*; Ḳayruwān, 240*h*; Ḳulzum, 240*l*; Miṣr (Egypt), 240*m*; Maghrib and Western Lands, 240*r*; Greece, 243*a*.

CONCLUSION (*Khātimah*). Description of Marvels in various parts of Īrān:—In Khurāsān, Ḳūmis, Māzandarān, and Kūhistān, 243*n*; in 'Irāḳ 'Ajam, Kurdistān, Lūristān, and Gīlān, 243*s*; in Fārs, Kirmān, and Shabānkārah, 246*e*; in 'Irāḳ 'Arab and Khūzistān, 246*r*; in Rūm, Gurjistān, Adharbayjān, Mughān, Arrān, and Shirvān, 247*j*; marvels in diverse other quarters of the habitable world, 248*k*. *Finis* of the *Nuzhat-al-Ḳulūb*, setting forth the author's apology, 254*d*; followed by a list of the chief Arabic and Persian historians, with the names of their works, 257*a*–259*z*. Colophon, 260.

Reverting now to Part II of the Third Book, *On the Lands of Īrān*—the subject of the present paper—the detailed contents of the twenty chapters into which this is divided are succinctly discussed in the following pages. And here, for the sake of convenience, I have added to each chapter, when treating of the various provinces and towns, those articles which go to form Appendices II, IV, and V, in which Mustawfi describes the *Mountains*, *Rivers*, and *Lakes* of Persia and Mesopotamia, giving of course also a reference to the *Nuzhat* where the text of the Appendix will be found. Appendix I, on the Itineraries, will be treated in detail at the close of Chapter 20; but in regard to Appendix III, on *Mines*, being totally unacquainted with mineralogy, and since this section treats only of the places where diverse minerals and metals are to be found, I have thought it wiser to omit this part altogether from my paper.

The list of names is a long one, and perhaps a few remarks on the nomenclature will not be out of place before proceeding to the description of the various provinces.

In glancing over the place-names which Mustawfi records it is clear that the Arab element, found in the earlier geographers, had in the fourteenth century A.D. given place

almost entirely to Persian forms. The Arabs very usually added the article *al* to place-names which in their language had a meaning, e.g., Al-Anbār 'the Granary,' Al-Ḥadīthah 'the New Town,' and Al-Mawṣil 'the Junction' (Mosul); but in addition it will be found that they frequently wrote their article before purely Persian place-names, e.g. As-Sīrjān and Al-Iṣṭahbānān, where there was no very obvious reason for so doing. It is impossible to say why Rhages should always have been written with the article *Ar-Ray*, while *Jay*, the old name for Isfahān, should have as invariably been written without it. In Mustawfi's lists, however, the Arabic article has everywhere disappeared, and we have Ray, Mawṣil, etc.; while names such as Ar-Rān and Ar-Ras (*spelt* Al-Rān, Al-Ras in the Arabic writing), which in the older geographers had thus the false appearance of Arab names, in the pages of Mustawfi appear in plain Persian as Arrān and Aras.

Glancing over the map it will thus be found that nearly everywhere the older nomenclature has disappeared: Naysābūr is become Nīshāpūr (in modern Persian the diphthongs *ay* and *aw* are as a rule replaced by long *ī* and *ū*), Ḳirmīsīn is replaced by Kirmānshāhān, Nashavā by Nakhchivān; and Arabic names are given in their Persian equivalent, Ḳaṣr-ar-Rīḥ 'Wind Palace' becoming Dīh Bād, Ḳarīyat-al-Asad 'Lion Village' and Ḳaṣr-al-Jawz 'Nut Palace' reappearing as Dīh Shīr and Dīh Jawz, the meanings standing unchanged. More especially in the province of Fārs it will be found that Ḳal'ah, signifying a castle in Arabic, is still very generally retained; at times, however, it is replaced by the Persian equivalent Diz, e.g. Ḳal'ah Isfandīyār, otherwise called Diz-i-Safīd 'White Castle,' and in one case the Arabic Ḳal'ah or Ḳal'at reappears under the purely Persian form of Kilāt, which as a place-name became common in later times throughout Western Asia. In short, Persia proper in the time of Mustawfi had already got quit of Arabic place-names; one of the few mentioned by him (and the name is still retained) being Bayḍā (Arabic *al-Bayḍā*, 'the White Town') in the

Marvdasht plain to the north of Shīrāz. Of purely Arabic names Wāsiṭah, 'the Middle place,' a post-stage between Kāshān and Isfahān, is another example, but the reading of the MSS. is not sure, and in another instance Ḥaddādah, 'the Frontier or Barrier,' a stage on the great eastern road between Damghān and Busṭām, the Arab name is given with its Persian alias of Mihmān-dūst, and this last is the one still in use. One other instance of an Arabic name in Persia, as given by Mustawfi, occurs in Rās-al-Kalb, 'the Dog's Head,' a stage between Ray and Samnān. No trace of this name exists at the present time, and apparently its place is occupied by Lāsjird, the name of the curious fortress-town (wanting in the lists of the mediæval geographers) which crowns a bluff overlooking the desert plain (see illustration in H. W. Bellew, *From the Indus to the Tigris*, p. 404).

Chapter 1. *'Irāḳ 'Arab.*

Contents: Kūfah, L. 133*s*; Mashhad 'Alī, 134*g*; Mashhad Ḥusayn, 134*s*; Baghdād, 135*a*; Anbār, 136*w*; Bābil, 136*z*; Barāz-ar-Rūz, 137*f*; Baṣrah, 137*f*; 'Abbādān, 137*w*; Bandanījīn and Liḥf, 137*z*; Bayāt, 138*a*; Takrīt, 138*d*; Tall 'Aḳarḳūf, 138*f*; Ḥadīthah, 138*g*; Ḥarbā, 138*h*; Ḥillah, 138*j*; Ḥulwān, 138*p*; Ḥīrah, 138*s*; Khāliṣ, 138*v*; Khāniḳīn, 138*w*; Dujayl, 138*x*; Daḳūḳ, 139*a*; Dayr 'Āḳūl, 139*b*; Rūmīyah, 139*c*; Rādhān and Bayn Nahrayn, 139*d*; Zangiābād, 139*e*; Sāmarrah, 139*f*; Ṣadrayn, 139*r*; Ṭarīḳ, or the Road of, Khurāsān and Ba'ḳūbā, 139*s*; Shahrabān, 139*w*; 'Ānah, 139*x*; 'Askarah, 139*z*; Ḳaṣr Shīrīn, 139*z*; Ḳādisīyah, 140*e*; Ḳūrān, 140*e*; Muḥawwal, 140*f*; Madāin, 140*j*; Nahr 'Isā, 141*g*; Nahr Malik, 141*k*; Nahrawān, 141*m*; Nu'mānīyah, 141*o*; Nīl, 141*p*; Hīt and Jubbah, 141*p*; Wāsiṭ, 141*t*.

The dividing-line between the two provinces of 'Irāḳ and Jazīrah (Lower and Upper Mesopotamia) has varied at different epochs. In Abbasid times it is generally given as running up from Anbār on the Euphrates to Takrīt on

the Tigris,[1] both towns being as a rule included in the lower province. In the time of Ḥamd-Allah, however, 'Irāḳ included as well many towns lying on the Euphrates to the north of Anbār, up to or beyond 'Ānah, and the frontier line at that period went from a short distance below Ḳarḳīsiyā, where the river Khābūr joins the Euphrates, across Mesopotamia to a point on the Tigris immediately below the junction of the Lesser Zāb. Ḥamd-Allah in Appendix IV describes both the Euphrates and the Tigris at some length (L. 211*u* and 213*x*), but adds nothing to what has been already given in the notes to my translation of Ibn Serapion. The Tigris in his time still flowed down by the Shaṭṭ-al-Ḥay past Wāsiṭ into the Great Swamps, which in their western portion swallowed up the waters also of the Euphrates below Kūfah; in short, the state of the country described by Ibn Serapion at the close of the ninth century A.D. still existed in 1340, and for that matter continued unaltered until after the time of Ḥāfiz Abrū in 1420, the change to the present state of the Euphrates and Tigris having taken place in the century before 1652 A.D., when Tavernier visited the country.[2]

Among the cities of 'Irāḳ, Ḥamd-Allah being an ardent Shī'ah gives precedence to Kūfah (I.S. 53), near the burial-place of the Imāms, which he calls the Dār-al-Mulk, 'the Abode of Power,' though Baghdād is, he admits, 'the Mother of Cities' and the metropolis. His description of the celebrated shrines near Kūfah is given in the following

[1] See *Map of Mesopotamia as described by Ibn Serapion*. In order to save needless repetition the letters I.S. will mark a reference to the volume of this Journal for 1895 where, in the notes to my paper on Ibn Serapion, details of many of the towns here mentioned will be found.

[2] See *Baghdad during the Caliphate*, p. 8, note 1. Since writing this I have found in *Purchas' Pilgrims* (folio, 1625, vol. v, p. 1411) that in 1581 John Newberie apparently travelled down from Baghdad to Baṣrah by the present, *eastern*, course of the Tigris. The change, therefore, from the Wāsiṭ channel to that at present followed must have already taken place, in all probability, before the middle of the sixteenth century A.D. Nothing certain is to be learnt from the Narratives of Cæsar Frederic in 1563 (*Purchas*, v, p. 1702), John Eldred in 1583 (*Hakluyt Travels*, 4to edit., ii, p. 404), or the anonymous Portuguese traveller, *circâ* 1555, whose MS. is in the possession of Major M. Hume (see *Athenæum* for 25th March, 1901, p. 373).

paragraph, which is a slightly condensed translation of the Persian text:—

"Two leagues to the northward of Kūfah is Mashhad 'Alī, where the Caliph is buried; for, on receiving his death wound in the Kūfah Mosque, 'Alī had ordered that his body should be put on a camel, which was then to be turned loose, and wherever the camel knelt there his body was to be buried. All this was therefore done, but during the time of the Omayyads no tomb was erected at Mashhad 'Alī, for the place was kept hidden for security. In the year 175 (791 A.D.) the holy site was discovered by the Abbasid Caliph Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, for when hunting one day near Kūfah he had chased his quarry into a thicket, but on attempting to follow it he found that no force could prevail on his horse to enter the place. Then awe fell on Hārūn, and on enquiring of the peasants they told him this was indeed the burial-place of 'Alī, as such being an inviolate sanctuary. Orders were given to dig, and the body of 'Alī was found, to guard which a shrine (or Mashhad) was then built, which became a place of visitation. At a later date in the year 366 (977 A.D.) 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid erected the Mausoleum which still exists, and the place became a little town 2,500 paces in circuit. Ghāzān Khān the Īl-Khān in recent times erected here the house for Sayyids called the Dār-as-Siyādah, also a Khānḳāh or Darvīsh monastery. To the north-west of Kūfah, eight farsakhs away in the desert, is Karbalā, the place of martyrdom of Ḥusayn. The building now seen here was erected by 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah aforesaid, and a small town has grown up round this shrine also, being some 2,400 paces in circuit. Outside Mashhad Ḥusayn are seen the tombs of those who fell fighting at his side in the battle that resulted in his martyrdom."

The early history of these two celebrated shrines is obscure; the foregoing is the usual Shī'ah account, but though it is true that Hārūn-ar-Rashīd at one period of his reign favoured the Alids, the Arab chronicles do not

relate that he 'invented' the Tomb of 'Alī. The earliest notice in detail of Mashhad 'Alī appears to be of the middle of the fourth century A.H. (tenth A.D.), written by Ibn Ḥawḳal. He says (p. 163) that the Ḥamdānid prince Abu-l-Ḥayjā, who was governor of Mosul in 292 (A.D. 904) and died in 317 (A.D. 929), had built a dome on four columns over the tomb at Mashhad 'Alī, which shrine he ornamented with rich carpets and hangings; further, he surrounded the town there with a wall. Elsewhere Ibn Ḥawḳal, however, adds that in his day the burial-place of 'Alī was also shown in the corner of the great Mosque at Kūfah, and this attribution was credited by many persons. In the pages of the Chronicle of Ibn-al-Athīr (ix, 13, 42, 169, 394; x, 103) it is recorded that the Buyid prince 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah was buried at Mashhad 'Alī, also his sons Sharaf and Bahā-ad-Dawlah; and diverse other notable persons are under various dates stated to have been buried here.

In the year 443 (1051 A.D.) the shrine was burnt to the ground by the Baghdād populace, who, being orthodox, had taken to persecuting the Shī'ahs; it must, however, have been rebuilt shortly afterwards, for Malik Shāh and his Vazīr, the Niẓām-al-Mulk, made their visitation to the tomb in 479 (1086 A.D.). Yāḳūt, who mentions Mashhad 'Alī in his articles on Kūfah and Najaf, unfortunately gives us no details of the shrine.

In regard to Karbalā and the shrine of Ḥusayn, it is nowhere stated by whom it was first built, but in the year 236 (850 A.D.) the Caliph Mutawakkil earned the lasting hatred of all good Shī'ahs by ordering the buildings here to be destroyed by flooding the place with water; also he forbade the visitation of the sacred spot under heavy penalties. How long the tomb of Ḥusayn remained in ruin is not stated, but 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid in 368 (979 A.D.) built a magnificent shrine here, and this is noticed by the contemporary geographers Iṣṭakhrī (p. 85) and Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 166). In 407 (1016 A.D.) the dome at Mashhad Ḥusayn was burnt down, but doubtless was restored before the place was visited by Malik Shāh in 479 (1086 A.D.)

when he went hunting in these districts. Yāḳūt unfortunately gives us no description of Mashhad Ḥusayn to supplement the above, which is derived from Ibn-al-Athīr (*Chronicle*, vii, 36; viii, 518; ix, 209; x, 103).

The description of Baghdād, that follows the description of Kūfah in the *Nuzhat*, has already been summarized in a recent number of this Journal (J.R.A.S. for 1899, p. 885), and most of the other towns are mentioned in the notes to my translation of Ibn Serapion and need only a reference here. A plan of the ruins of Anbār is given by Mr. J. P. Peters in his recent work on *Nippur* (i, 177); he visited the site, and this lies at some distance from Sifayra (see also I.S. 52). Bābil is at the ruins of ancient Babylon (I.S. 259). According to Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 6), Barāz-ar-Rūz and Bandanījīn were the chief towns of two neighbouring Sub-districts (*Ṭassūj*) of the great District (*Astān*) of Shādh Ḳubādh, which was the third Astān of the twelve Districts into which 'Irāḳ was divided in the times of the Abbasids. From the mention of neighbouring places it is almost certain that Barāz-ar-Rūz is identical with the modern Bilād Rūz, lying about twenty-five miles east of Ba'ḳūbā; and Ḥamd-Allah (L. 220*l*) also speaks of its river, which rising in the Kurdistān mountains flowed out into the plain and became lost before reaching the Tigris bank. Bandanījīn, generally called Bandanīgān in the Liḥf District, has left no trace on the map. It was an important town when Yāḳūt (i, 745; iv, 353) wrote, lying near the foot-hills (or Liḥf) of the Khūzistān frontier, and its ruins should be sought for some fifty miles to the eastward, bearing south, of Bilād Rūz.

Baṣrah and 'Abbādān have been noticed before (I.S. 302, 304). The little town of Bayāt still exists, and Ḥamd-Allah (L. 220*g*) refers to its river, which rising in the Kurdistān mountains became lost in the plain below the town after watering many districts. Bayāt, a name which does not occur in the Arab geographers, is identical with, or rather lies close to, the ruins of Ṭīb, a town mentioned by Yāḳūt (iii, 566) as of some importance during Abbasid days, the site of which has been visited and described by Sir H. Layard

(*Early Adventures*, ii, 229). Takrīt was the frontier town on the Tigris between Lower and Upper Mesopotamia (I.S. 36). The great mound of Tall 'Aḳarḳūf still exists; its village was, according to Yāḳūt (i, 867), of the 'Īsā Canal District, and probably stood at no great distance from the town of Muḥawwal, of which apparently all traces have vanished. Ḥadīthah, 'the New Town' of the Euphrates, lying some thirty-five miles below 'Ānah, is called Ḥadīthah-an-Nūrah by Yāḳūt (ii, 223) to distinguish it from the other Ḥadīthah on the Tigris, at the junction of the Upper Zāb. Ḥarbā still exists on the Dujayl Canal (I.S. 39), and Ḥillah is on the Euphrates (I.S. 259). The ruins of Ḥulwān exist at the site called Sar-i-pul, and have been recently visited by M. de Morgan. The remains of Ḥīrah lie near Kūfah (I.S. 53), and the Khāliṣ is a canal of East Baghdād (I.S. 225). Khāniḳīn, Daḳūḳ, Zangīābād, and Ḳaṣr Shīrīn all figure on the map and need no comment. The first and last are in the Itinerary (Route iii), and Ḥamd-Allah describes (L. 220*j*) the Daḳūḳ river as flowing from the Kurdistān mountains by the Darband-i-Khalīfah, past Daḳūḳ, and out into the plain, where its waters were usually lost in the sand, though in the spring freshets they flow down to join the Tigris.

The Dujayl Canal is of West Baghdād (I.S. 70), and Dayr-al-'Āḳūl is on the Tigris, so too Rūmīyah, opposite Madāin (I.S. 40, 41). Rādhān and Bayn-an-Nahrayn—'Between two Canals'—were two neighbouring regions of the Nahrawān. Both names have now disappeared from the map, but, according to Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 6), there were, in Abbasid times, two Sub-districts called the Ṭassūj of Upper and of Lower Rādhān which formed part of the Shād Hurmuz Astān or District, and this last was on the left bank of the Tigris in the neighbourhood of Madāin. It is to be remarked that the name of Bayn-an-Nahrayn does not apparently occur in any other author. The Khurāsān Road is the name for the district to the eastward of Baghdād. Sāmarrah and Ba'ḳūbā exist, and are noticed by Ibn Serapion (I.S. 36, 268). The region of Ṣadrayn

was watered by the Euphrates, but I have failed to discover its position, though the name occurs in the *Jihān Numā* (p. 466), and all the MSS. agree in this spelling. As given in the Itinerary (Route iii), and lying to the north-east of Baghdād, Shahrabān still exists; and 'Āṇah is on the Euphrates (I.S. 52). Neither in the *Jihān Numā* nor elsewhere, apparently, is any account found of the towns named 'Askarah (or 'Askarīyah)[1] and Ḳūrān, which are not either of them marked on our maps. Ḳādisīyah may be either the town of that name on the Tigris (I.S. 37), or the place on the desert border near Kūfah, where the great battle was fought when the Arab armies first invaded Mesopotamia.

As already said, Muḥawwal was the town on the great canal called the Nahr 'Īsā (I.S. 71) to the west of Baghdād, and the ruins of Madāin are still to be seen on the Tigris below Baghdād (I.S. 40). The canal called the Nahr Mālik is the one below the Nahr 'Īsā flowing from the Euphrates to the Tigris (I.S. 74), and Nu'mānīyah (I.S. 43) stands on the Tigris a little above where the Nīl Canal—on which is the town called Nīl—flows in (I.S. 261). The city of Nahrawān is the place now called Sifwah (I.S. 269) on the Nahrawān, the great loop canal of the left bank of the Tigris which, starting from Dūr below Takrīt, rejoined the Tigris again below Mādharāyā after a course of about 200 miles (I.S. 267). In its entirety this canal no longer exists, but its course can be traced, and from what Ḥamd-Allah reports it had gone out of use even in his day, for he gives the name of Nahrawān to what is now known as the Diyālā river. In Appendix IV (L. 216*l*) he writes that the Nahrawān river had two head streams, both of which rose in the mountains of Kurdistān. One of them was called the Shīrwān river from the district of that name on its upper course, and lower down reaching the Taymarrah District it took this latter name. Below this the Nahrawān, or Taymarrah, was joined by the other branch, which rose

[1] This place may be 'Askar-al-Mu'taṣim, or the Camp Quarter, at Sāmarrā, where the Alid shrines stood: see Yāḳūt, iii, 675; Mushtarik, 309; Marāṣid, ii, 5.

in the mountains above Ḥulwān, at a spring in the Pass of Ṭāḳ-i-Kizā of the Gīl wa Gīlān District; thence flowing down past the cities of Ḥulwān, Ḳaṣr-i-Shīrīn, and Khāniḳīn to its junction with the other stream. Below the junction, and above Ba'ḳūbā, the united waters formed the Nahrawān, which finally flowed out into the Tigris a short distance below Baghdād.

The town of Hīt lies on the Euphrates (I.S. 52), and Jubbah, if this be the right reading of the text, is a small place on an island in the Euphrates fifteen leagues above Hīt. Lastly, Wāsiṭ on the older course of the Tigris (now the Shaṭṭ-al-Ḥay) was a place of importance as late as the time of Timur (*Ẓafar Nāmah*, i, 657, and elsewhere), though at the present day its ruins have almost completely disappeared (I.S. 44).

REFERENCES TO MAP OF PERSIA.

The names of the stages on the post-roads will be found in Appendix I on the Itineraries.

'Irāḳ 'Ajam.—1, Firūzān; 2, Fārifān; 3, Varāmin; 4, Tihrān and Shrine of Shāh 'Abd-al-'Aẓīm; 5, Fārisjīn; 6, Sūmghān; 7, Sagsābād; 8, Abhar; 9, Āvah; 10, Sāvah; 11, Sunḳurābād; 12, Sujās and Suhravard; 13, Satūrīḳ; 14, Sarjahān; 15, Ṣāin Ḳal'ah; 16, Kāghadh Kunān or Khūnaj; 17, Muzdaḳān; 18, Sāmān; 19, Ardistān; 20, Dalijān; 21, Gulpaygān; 22, Zavārah; 23, Dih Sārūk; 24, Naṭanz; 25, Idhaj or Māl Amīr; 26, 'Arūj or Sūsan; 27, Lurdagān; 28, Sābūrkhwāst; 29, Khurramābād; 30, Burūjīrd; 31, Ṣaymarah; 32, Asadābād; 33, Âbah of Kharraḳān; 34, Darguzīn; 35, Rūdarūd, Tuvī, and Sarkān; 36, Maybud; 37, Nāyin.

Adharbayjān.—1, Awjān; 2, Ṭarūj or Ṭasūj; 3, Khalkhāl; 4, Shāl and Kulūr; 5, Ahar; 6, Khoi; 7, Salmās; 8, Urmīyah; 9, Ushnūyah; 10, Sarāv; 11, Miyānij; 12, Pasavā; 13, Dih Khwārkān; 14, Laylān; 15, Marand; 16, Zangiyān and Bridge of Khudā Âfarīn; 17, Karkar and Bridge of Ḍiyā-al-Mulk; 18, Nakhchivān; 19, Urdūbād.

Mughān and Arrān.—1, Barzand; 2, Pīlvār; 3, Maḥmūdābād; 4, Barda'ah.

Kurdistān.—1, Alishtar; 2, Bahār; 3, Sulṭānābād Jamjamāl; 4, Shahrazūr; 5, Kirind and Kūshān; 6, Harsin; 7, Vasṭām or Bīsūtūn.

Khūzistān.—1, Junday Shāpūr; 2, Ḥawīzah; 3, Rāmhurmuz; 4, Sūs; 5, 'Askar Mukram; 6, Masruḳān town.

Fārs.—1, Tawwaz; 2, Khabr; 3, Khunayfghān; 4, Ṣimkān; 5, Kavār; 6, Kārzīn, Kīr, and Abzar; 7, Kāriyān; 8, Lāghir; 9, Kūrān; 10, Mīmand; 11, Iṣṭakhr; 12, Abarḳūh; 13, Iḳlīd; 14, Surmaḳ; 15, Bayḍā; 16, Kharrāmah; 17, Māyin; 18, Band-i-Amīr; 19, Harāt; 20, Ḳuṭruh; 21, Kamīn; 22, Kallār and

Kūrad; 23, Yazdikhwāst; 24, Dih Girdū; 25, Abādah; 26, Jahram; 27, Juvaym of Abu Ahmad; 28, Shāpūr; 29, Nawbanjān; 30, Tīr Murdān; 31, Jirrah; 32, Gunbad Mallaghān; 33, Khisht; 34, Kumārij; 35, Juvaym and Khullār; 36, Rīshahr; 37, Būstānak; 38, Mahrubān; 39, Sīnīz; 40, Jannābā.

Shabānkārah.—1, Darkān or Zarkān; 2, Iṣṭahbānān; 3, Nīrīz; 4, Khayrah; 5, Tārum; 6, Kurm and Rūbanz.

Kuhistān.—1, Bajistān; 2, Junābād; 3, Dasht-i-Biyāḍ and Fāris; 4, Birjand; 5, Khusf; 6, Isfad; 7, Istind; 8, Shārakhs; 9, Ṭabas Kīlakī; 10, Ṭabas Masīnān; 11, Darah Castle.

Khurāsān.—1, Isfarāyin; 2, Bayhaḳ or Sabzivār; 3, Biyār; 4, Khudāshah of Juvayn; 5, Mashhad-i-Imām Riḍā; 6, Fūshanj; 7, Kusūy; 8, Khargird; 9, Mālān of Bākharz; 10, Gunābād of Bādghīz; 11, Jām, and Būzjān or Pūchkān; 12, Khwāf; 13, Salām; 14, Sanjān; 15, Zūzan; 16, Abivard; 17, Khavārān.

Ḳūmis.—1, Khuvār or Maḥallah Bāgh; 2, Samnān; 3, Āhūvān; 4, Girdkūh; 5, Fīrūzkūh.

Gīlān.—1, Tūlim; 2, Shaft; 3, Fūmin; 4, Kawtam; 5, Lāhijān.

Chapter 2. *'Irāḳ 'Ajam.*

Contents: Iṣfahān, 142*f*, and its eight districts, viz., Jay, Mārbīn, Karārij, Ḳahāb, Burkhuwār, Khānlānjān, Barān, and Rūdasht, with their villages, 143*e*; Fīrūzān, 143*w*; Ray, 143*y*; Ṭihrān, 144*r*; Varāmīn, 144*s*; Sulṭānīyah, 144*v*; Ḳazvīn, 145*k*; Abhar, 146*t*; the Districts of Daylam and Ṭālish, 147*a*; Āvah, 147*e*; the Rūdbār District, with Castles of Alamūt and Maymūn Diz, 147*l*; Zanjān, 147*v*; Sāvah, 148*c*; Sāūj Bulāḳ, Sujās, and Suhravard, 148*q*; Satūrīḳ, 148*v*; the two Ṭārum Districts, 149*d*; Sarjahān and Ḳuhūd or Ṣāyin Ḳal'ah, 149*a*; the Ṭāliḳān District, 149*l*; Kāghadh Kunān or Khūnaj, 149*p*; Muzdakān and Sāmān, 149*v*; Ṭabarik, Marjamnān, and Andajan Districts, 149*y*; Pushkil Darrah, 150*c*; Ḳum, 150*f*; Kāshān and Fīn, 150*l*; Ardistān and the Tafrīsh District, 150*s*; Jurbādaḳān or Gulpaygān, 150*v*; Dalījān, 150*y*; Zavārah, 151*a*; Farāhān and Dih Sārūḳ, 151*b*; Karaj, 151*e*; Naṭanz, 151*j*; Nismūr, 151*k*; Marāvadīn, 151*l*;

Vashāḳ, 151*m*; Great Lur District, 151*o*; Īdhaj, 151*q*; Aruḥ or Sūs, 151*r*; Lurdakān, 151*s*; Little Lur District, 151*t*; Burūjird, 151*u*; Khurramābād and Samsā, 151*w*; Ṣaymarah, 151*x*; Hamadān, 151*y*, and its five districts, viz., Farīvār, Azmādīn, Sharāhīn, A'lam, and Sardrūd, with their villages, 152*g*; Asadābād, 152*o*; the districts of Māja'lū and Tamsār, 152*p*; the District of Kharraḳān, with the (northern) Āvah, 152*q*; Darguzīn, 152*s*; Rūdrāwar, Tuvī, and Sarkān, 152*v*; Sāmān, 152*y*; Shabd Bahar and Fūlān, 152*z*; Nihāvand, 153*a*; Yazd, 153*d*; Maybud and Nāyin, 153*l*.

What had of old been the province of Media the Arabs named Al-Jibāl—'the Mountains'—a perfectly appropriate name, as will be seen by a glance at the map, for the great mountain region separating the plains of Mesopotamia from the highlands of Persia. In the time of the Saljūḳ princes, by some misnomer, this, their capital province, came to be called 'Irāḳ 'Ajamī, or *Persian* 'Irāḳ, a name that was totally unknown to the earlier Arab geographers. Hence in after days Al-'Irāḳayn, 'The Two 'Irāḳs,' were taken to mean Media and Lower Mesopotamia, which last for distinction was thenceforth called *Arabian* 'Irāḳ — 'Irāḳ 'Arabī. Originally, it is to be observed, Al-'Irāḳayn had been a term applied to the two great *cities* of (Arabian) 'Irāḳ, namely, Kūfah and Baṣrah; but the Saljūḳs had affected the title of Sulṭān of the Two 'Irāḳs, which in consequence, as explained above, came to be applied to the two provinces, but as Abu-l-Fidā (p. 408) writes "among the vulgar," and wrongfully (see also Yāḳūt, ii, 15, and Lane, *Dictionary*, s.v. *'Irāḳ*). The name, however, has continued in use down to the present time.

Further, it is to be remarked that after the Mongol settlement Persian 'Irāḳ was greater in extent to the eastward than the older Arab province of Jibāl, by the addition thereto of Yazd and its district, which formerly had been counted as of Fārs; on the other hand, it had been diminished in size by the creation of the new province of Kurdistān, which had been taken from its western part, and Kurdistān now divided Persian from Arabian 'Irāḳ. Under the Ilkhāns Persian

'Irāḳ became the capital province of their empire, for it included the four great cities of Isfahān, Ray, Hamadān, and Sulṭānīyah, the new metropolis recently founded by Uljaytū.

The eight districts of Isfahān mentioned by Ḥamd-Allah all exist at the present day (as do many of the villages which he also enumerates, and which are described by General Schindler in *Eastern Persian 'Irāḳ*, pp. 120, 122). The city, he says, originally consisted of four wards (still existing in name), viz., Karrān, Kūshk, Jūbārah, and Dardasht, the walls round these having been built by Rukn-ad-Dawlah the Buyid. In the Julbārah quarter (now pronounced Gulbārah, and lying to the north-east of modern Isfahān, round the Maydān-i-Kuhnah or Old Square) was the Madrasah (College) and tomb of Sulṭān Muḥammad the Saljūḳ, and here might be seen a block of stone weighing 10,000 *man* (equivalent, perhaps, to a little less than 32 tons weight), this being a great idol carried off by the Sultan from India, and set up before the College-gate (L. 142*u*). History, however, does not record that this Sulṭān Muḥammad (a son of Malik-Shāh, who reigned from 498 to 511 A.H.) made any conquests in India, nor does Ḥamd-Allah himself allude to the fact in the *Guzīdah* when treating of his reign.

Isfahān lay on the northern or left bank of the river Zandah-rūd, which is described as rising in the mountains of Zardah Kūh, the 'Yellow Mountains,' still so called from their yellow limestone cliffs (L. 204*q*). Of this region also were the Ashkahrān mountains, lying on the frontiers of Greater Lur (L. 202*u*). After passing the cities of Fīrūzān [**1**][1] and Isfahān, the Zandah-rūd flowed through the district of Rūdasht, of which the chief town was Fārifān [**2**], and there became lost in the great swamp of Gāvkhānī. The river was also known as the Zāyindah or Zarīn-rūd, and, according to popular belief, after sinking into the Gāvkhānī swamp, it flowed for sixty leagues underground to Kirmān,

[1] The numbers in square brackets refer to the Map.

when it rose again to the surface and thence attained the sea (L. 214*r*). Besides Isfahān town, the Isfahān district included the two great cities of Fārifān and Fīrūzān. The former still exists as a village (Schindler, op. cit., p. 126) not far from the Gāvkhānī swamp. Fīrūzān city has apparently disappeared from the map, but according to our author it stood on the river bank in the Khānlanjān District, and paid revenue to the amount of 164,000 dīnārs (about £41,125). Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 52), who visited the town, says it was six farsakhs distant from Isfahān.

The city of Ray (Rhages) was ruined during the Mongol invasion. Mustawfi says that in the time of Ghazan Khān the houses were in part rebuilt, but Varāmīn [3] had already supplanted it and become the chief town of the province. The Shrine of the Imām-Zādah 'Abd-al-'Aẓīm [1] was to be seen near Ray, as mentioned in the Itinerary (Route ix), and the castle which was called Ṭabarik lay at the foot of the hill of Kūh Ṭabarik to the north, where there are said to have been silver-mines (L. 205*t*). Of this castle, however, apparently no trace exists, though the Shrine of Shāh 'Abd-al-'Aẓīm is still a famous place of visitation. Mention is made of the river Kardān-rūd, which waters the Ray Districts, thence flowing out to the desert; and some other lesser streams are also named as coming down from the Kharraḳān District; also the Jāij-rūd from Damāvand and the river Garm-rūd or Kūh-rūd of Sāuj-Bulāḳ (L. 216*v*, *x*, and 217*r*, *v*, *x*, but cf. *Jihān Numā*, p. 304). The great mountain of Damāvand rose to the north of Ray, visible from a distance 100 leagues away, and of its many marvels

[1] Otherwise called Ḥusayn, a son of the eighth Imām, 'Alī-ar-Riḍā. Ṭabarik is also the name of the Castle of Isfahān, which, according to 'Alī of Yazd (*Ẓafar Nāmah*, i, 431), was occupied by Timur, and of which the ruins still exist. The foundation of Ḳal'ah Ṭabarik of Ray is ascribed by Ẓahīr-ad-Dīn (Dorn, *Muhammedanische Quellen*, i, p. 15 of the Persian text) to Manūchahr the Ziyārid, at the beginning of the fifth century (the eleventh A.D.), and he states that *Tabarik* means a 'hillock,' being the diminutive form of *Ṭabar*, signifying a 'hill or mountain,' in the Ṭabaristān dialect. According to Yāḳūt (iii, 507), Ṭabarik of Ray was destroyed in 588 (1192 A.D.) by Ṭughril II, the last Saljūḳ Sulṭān of 'Irāḳ, and Yāḳūt gives a long account of the siege of the famous castle.

Ḥamd-Allah gives a full account (L. 203*z*). Ṭihrān, the present capital of Persia [**4**], was already in the time of Ḥamd-Allah a fair-sized town, though formerly, he says, a mere village. Both Ray and Varāmīn are now only marked by ruin-heaps lying some distance to the south of Ṭihrān.

Sulṭānīyah, founded by Arghūn Khān, was completed by Uljaytū, who made it the capital of Īrān; and he was buried here in a magnificent sepulchre, the ruins of which still exist. Ḥamd-Allah has much to say about Ḳazvīn, his native town, with its dependent villages, among which were Dahand, Fārisjīn [**5**], Sūmghān [**6**], and Sagsābād [**7**], lying on the road eastward as named in Routes ix and xxvi. He also describes its many streams, namely, the Khar-rūd, the Būh-rūd, the Turkhān-rūd, the Ḳazvīn river, and the Āb-i-Kharraḳān (L. 217*j*, *q*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *v*, and *Jihān Numā*, p. 305). These streams had their sources for the most part in the Barchīn Kūh and the Rākhid (or Rāhand) mountain (L. 203*s* and 204*n*). Abhar [**8**], on the river of the same name (L. 217*g*), had a famous castle called Ḥaydarīyah, after Ḥaydar its builder, one of the Saljūḳ princes; and to the north of Abhar on the Gīlān frontier lay the Daylam and Ṭālish districts, among which were the towns of Ashkūr, Khawkān, and Khasjān (but the reading of these three last names is very uncertain, and they are not given by other writers, nor are they to be found on the map). The city of Āvah [**9**], between Sāvah [**10**] and Ḳum, stood on its river, the Gāvmāhā-rūd, which flows down from near Hamadān in the west to the great dam between Sāvah and Āvah, where it forms a lake (L. 217*a*).

The Rūdbār district, in which stood the ruins of the famous castles of the Assassins, lay along the course of the river Shāh-rūd, the lowest of the many affluents of the Safīd-rūd; and the District was at some distance to the north of Ḳazvīn (L. 215*n*). The city of Zanjān lay on the Zanjān river, also called the Māj-rūd (L. 217*e*), which was another affluent of the Safīd-rūd; and the town of Zanjān is said by Mustawfī to have been named Shahīn by its first

founder, King Ardashīr Bābagān. The city of Sāvah [**10**], chiefly remarkable for its lake, which history reported had miraculously dried up at the birth of the prophet Muḥammad, lay on the Muzdaḳān river (L. 217*n*); and a number of villages are named by Mustawfi in the Sāvah District, of which, however, the readings are uncertain, and they are not to be found on the map. Sāūj-Bulāḳ, the name of the district round Sunḳurābād [**11**], meaning 'the cold spring,' is given in some MSS. (e.g., British Museum, Add. 23,543, and Cambridge, Add. 2,624), but this paragraph is omitted in the lithographed text. Under the Mongols it was considered as of the Sāvah Province, though it had originally been counted as of Ray; its villages were Kharāv and Najmābād.

Sujās and Suhravard [**12**] were before the Mongol invasion important towns according to Iṣṭakhrī (pp. 196, 200) and Yāḳūt (iii, 40, 203); they are now apparently not marked on any modern map, though Sir H. Rawlinson, writing in 1840 (Journ. Roy. Geographical Society, x, 66), speaks of Sujās as a small village then existing, with Suhravard close to it. According to Ḥamd-Allah, Sujās was five leagues distant to the south of Sulṭānīyah (L. 145*h*), and the surrounding districts were called Jarūd and Anjarūd, apparently identical with Ijarūd and Angurān of the present maps. In the hills near Sujās was the grave of Arghūn Khān, of which a long account is given in the *Nuzhat*. The town of Satūrīḳ [**13**] lay at the western end of the Anjarūd district, and was celebrated for its palace, rebuilt by Abaḳah Khān, and the lake which was reported to be bottomless. This is the well-known Takht-i-Sulaymān, described by Sir H. Rawlinson (J.R.G.S., x, 65), who would identify this place as the site of the northern Ecbatana. The castle of Sarjahān [**14**] has disappeared from the map, but it lay five leagues to the east of Sulṭānīyah on the Ṭārum mountain, and Yāḳūt (iii, 70), who had visited it, reports that it was one of the strongest castles of the district, and from its towers the city of Zanjān was plainly visible.

Ṣāin Ḳal'ah [**15**], which still exists,[1] this being the Mongol name for the Ḳuhūd village, lay south of the Ṭārum district, otherwise called the Ṭārumayn, 'the two Ṭārums,' Upper and Lower, of which the capital formerly had been Fīrūzābād. Of Upper Ṭārum the chief town was Andar, with many dependent villages; in Lower Ṭārum the most important place was the Castle of Samīrān or Shamīrān, of which Yāḳūt (iii, 148) gives a long account. The streams of the Ṭārum districts all flowed into the river Safīd-rūd (L. 217*k*), and the name of this district (Ṭārum) is still marked on the map. The Ṭāliḳān district, which in the time of Ḥamd-Allah lay to the south-east of Ṭārum, apparently no longer exists, and the towns of Jarūd, Ḳūhbānah, and Karaj, which our author mentions, are no longer to be found. Kāghadh Kunān, 'the Paper Factory,' or Khūnaj [**16**], was an important place, the position of which is fixed by the Itinerary (Route xx) as south of the river Safīd-rūd and fourteen leagues north of Zanjān, in the district known as the Mughūlīyah. Muzdaḳān [**17**], which gave its name to the Sāvah river, as already mentioned, still exists, also Sāmān [**18**] at the place where the river rises. The three villages of Ṭabarik, Marjamnān, and Andijān lay among the hills to the north of Abhar [**8**], but have apparently now disappeared, and the Pushkil Darrah district was that lying to the east of Ḳazvīn and south of Ṭāliḳān.

The holy city of Ḳum was watered by the Gulpaygān river (L. 216*z*), and between Ḳum and Āvah was the salt mountain called Kūh-Namak-Lawn, a solitary hill, the summit of which was said to be unattainable (L. 206*x*). The neighbouring city of Kāshān (which the older geographers always spelt Ḳāshān, with the dotted *ḳ*) had its water from the Ḳuhrūd hills, the stream flowing to the desert (L. 217*m*). Ardistān [**19**], to the south-east of Kāshān, and the Tafrīsh districts, to the westward of Ḳum, still exist, and Dalijān [**20**] lies about half-way between Kāshān and Gulpaygān [**21**],

[1] Meaning 'the Castle of Ṣāin,' possibly called after Ṣāin, otherwise Bātū Khān, grandson of Changhīz Khān.

which latter town of old was called Jurbādaḳān. The hamlet of Zawārah [**22**] lies on the desert border near Ardistān.

Coming to the western side of Persian 'Irāḳ, the Farāhān District—of which the chief town was Dih Sārūk [**23**], visited recently by Mrs. Bishop (*Kurdistan*, i, 146)—is the region lying eastward of Hamadān. The chief town here at the present time is Sulṭānābād, founded in the reign of Fatḥ-'Alī Shāh at the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to Ḥamd-Allah there was a lake here, which the Mongols called Jaghār Nāzūd (but the reading is uncertain), which is doubtless the present Lake of Tualā to the north of Sulṭānābād. Dawlatābād was of the Farāhān villages, and this is still an important place lying to the east of Nihāvand. The city of Karaj, called Karaj of Abu Dulaf, has entirely disappeared from the map. Its position is given in the Itinerary (Route vii), and from the fact that the town lay to the south of the Rāsmand mountains, which are those now known under the name of Rāsband, it is easy to locate the site. The streams from these hills watered the celebrated pastures called Marghzār Kītū (or Kīsū) lying round the town; and its castle was named Farzīn (L. 204*h*). Returning once more to the eastern side of the province, near the desert border was Naṭanz [**24**], with the castles called Nīsmūr and Washāḳ, with the District of Marāwadīn, but the reading of these three last names is very uncertain, and with the exception of Washāḳ, which is mentioned in the *Guzīdah* (see E. G. Browne, J.R.A.S., 1901, p. 25, n. 4), being also copied into the *Jihān Numā* (p. 299), these names do not occur elsewhere.

In the south-western corner of the province of Persian 'Irāḳ was Luristān, divided between the Greater and the Lesser Lur districts. Īdhaj, otherwise known as Māl-Amīr [**25**], was the capital of Great Lur, the district which lay entirely to the south of the great bend of the Kārūn (between its left bank and the plain-country); and Great Lur for the most part had been counted as of Khūzistān by the Arab geographers. Īdhaj was famous for its bridge, and its

whirlpool, and the city has been described by Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 29), who visited this region. The town of 'Arūj, or 'Arūḥ, otherwise called Sūsan, or Sūs [**26**], also lay on the Kārūn river, some four leagues to the north-west of Māl-Amīr, and this place must not be confounded with the other Sūs in Khūzistān to the south of Dizfūl. Its ruins have been described by Sir H. Rawlinson, and were visited by Sir H. Layard (see the J.R.G.S. for 1839, ix, 83; also 1842, xii, 103). Lurdagān, or Lurkān [**27**], is found on the map near the affluent joining the Kārūn at its extreme western point. The district of Lesser Lur was the highland to the north of the great bend of the Kārūn; and in his *Guzīdah* Ḥamd-Allah gives the following account of this district, which is worth quoting[1]:—

"In the province of Lesser Lur are three rivers, namely, the Āb-i-Sīlākhūr flowing down to Dizfūl, the Khurramābād river which goes towards Ḥawīzah, and the Kazkī (?) river which also flows down by Dizfūl towards Ḥawīzah. And there are three towns that are still flourishing places, namely, Burūjird, Khurramābād, and Sābūrkhwāst. This last was of old an immense city, extremely populous, being inhabited by people from all nations, for it was the residence of kings: it is now, however, merely a provincial town. Finally, in Lesser Lur are three ruined cities named Kirisht (?), Būrisht (?), and Ṣaymarah."

The importance of this passage lies in the proof here given that Sābūrkhwāst is *not* identical with Khurramābād, as has been often supposed, since both towns existed in the time of Mustawfi; and the fact is confirmed by his statement in the Itinerary (Route vii) that, bifurcating at Burūjird from the Karaj high road, "the road to Sābūrkhwāst here goes off to the right hand" (L. 195*r*). The ruins of Sābūrkhwāst [**28**] have not yet been identified, but they must

[1] The paragraph is given at the end of Section xi of Chapter IV, immediately before the Section devoted to the Mongols. It is wanting in many MSS., but occurs in the old MS. of which I made a copy in Shīrāz in 1880, and also is found in the British Museum MSS. numbered Add. 7,630, Add. 22,693, and *Egerton*, 690.

be sought for some few leagues to the south of Khurramābād [**29**]. The town of Burūjird [**30**] is frequently mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī (pp. 258, 262) and Yāḳūt (i, 596); the Arab geographers, however, appear not to have known of Khurramābād in Lesser Lur, and Ḥamd-Allah is probably the earliest authority to mention this important town. He says that dates grew well both here and at Ṣaymarah [**31**], the old capital of the Mihrajānḳadhaḳ District; according to Ibn Rustah (p. 269) and Yāḳūt (iii, 443), already in the fourteenth century A.D. a ruin. Ṣaymarah is marked on the map at some distance from the western bank of the Karkhah river, but I am unable to identify Samsā (or Samhā) and Diz-i-Siyāh, 'the Black Castle,' which stood near it according to our author. Somewhere in Lesser Lur also was the mountain called Huwayn (or Harīn) Kūh, where there were celebrated iron-mines (L. 207*b*). In regard to the three rivers of Lesser Lur mentioned in the *Guzīdah*, these are referred to again in the *Nushat* (L. 215*u*, *w*). Sīlākhūr is the name of the plain in which Burūjird stands, and its river is the chief source of the Āb-i-Diz; further the Kazkī is apparently the affluent now known as the Āb-i-Baznoi. The Khurramābād river drains to the Karkhah, which Ḥamd-Allah describes as passing through the Ḥawīzah country, and this latter river now joins the Kārūn below Ahwāz, as will be noticed in the chapter on Khuzistān. The Karkhah and its affluents came down from the Alvand mountain (L. 202*p*), lying southward of Hamadān; its peaks were almost always covered with snow, and forty-two streams take their rise in this region, which, says Mustawfi, measures thirty leagues in circumference.

Hamadān city, when Ḥamd-Allah wrote, was for the most part in ruin; it included five townships, Ḳal'ah Kabrīt—'Sulphur Castle'—Ḳal'ah Mākin, Girdlākh, the Ḳishlāḳ or 'Winter Quarters' of Shujā'-ad-Dīn Khūrshīd, and Kūrasht. The surrounding province comprised five other Districts with many villages, namely, Farīvār (or Karīwār), Azmādīn (or Azyārdīn), Sharābīn (or Sharāmīn), A'lam, with Sardrūd and Barbandrūd (or Barhanarūd). None of

these names appear on the present map (those given in parenthesis are from the Turkish text of the *Jihān Numā*, p. 300); but Farīvār was watered by the upper affluent of the Gāvmāhā or Gāvmāsā river (already mentioned), which rose in the hills of Asadābād [**32**] to the north-west of the city (L. 217*a*).

The places called Māja'lū and Tamsār appear to be unknown, but the two districts of Kharraḳān (marked Karaghān on our maps) are those lying to the south-west of Ḳazvīn, towards which and out eastward to Ray the Kharraḳān streams took their course (L. 217*v*), as already described. The chief town in the Kharraḳān District is Ābah [**33**] or Āvah (not to be confounded with Āvah near Sāvah, already mentioned), and there were besides forty other villages. The Darguzīn District lies between Kharraḳān and Hamadān, Darguzīn [**34**] being also the name of the chief town of the district, and this formerly had been included in A'lam, one of the five Districts, as already mentioned, of Hamadān, which, says Ḥamd-Allah, by the Persians was called Alāmar. Rūdarūd or Rūdrāvar [**35**] was a large town, the ruins of which still exist at Rūdīlāvar (*Mission Scientifique*, De Morgan, ii, 136), near Tuvī and Sarkān. These ruins probably also represent the older town of Karaj of Hamadān, which, according to Yāḳūt (ii, 832; iv, 251), was the capital of this Rūdarūd district, and lay seven leagues distant both from Hamadān and from Nihāvand. Here were the five Districts named from the rivers Hind-rūd, Sarkān-rūd, Karzān-rūd, Lamī-rūd, and Barazmahin respectively.

Sāmān of Kharraḳān, at the headwaters of the Muzdaḳān river, has already been mentioned. Shabdabahar and Fūlād (the readings are uncertain) are districts no longer shown on our maps, but which probably lay near the city of Nihāvand; and this last, Mustawfī writes, comprised three Districts, named Malāir, Isfīdhān, and Jahūḳ, which, however, are likewise not to be found on modern maps. Coming finally to the south-eastern corner of the province of Persian 'Irāḳ, Ḥamd-Allah notices the cities of Yazd, Maybud [**36**], and Nāyīn [**37**], which, as he rightly remarks, were formerly

counted as belonging to Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis), and hence were of the province of Fārs.

Chapter 3. *Adharbayjān.*

Contents: Tabrīz, 153*p*, and its seven districts, viz., Mihrān-rūd, Sard-rūd, Sāvīl-rūd, Arūnak, Rūdkab, Khānum-rūd, and Bidūstān, 155*e*; Awjān, 155*v*; Ṭasūj or Ṭarūj, 156*a*; Ardabīl, 156*c*; Khalkhāl and Fīrūzābād, 156*k*; Dārmaraz, 156*s*. The Shāhrūd district, 156*t*; the Pīshkīn district, 156*w*; Unār and Arjāḳ, 157*a*; Ahar, 157*d*; Takallafah and Jiyār, 157*f*; Darāvard, 157*h*; Ḳal'ah Kahrān, 157*j*; Kalantar, 157*k*; Kīlān-Faḍlūn, 157*m*; Murdān Na'īm, 157*n*; Naw-Diz, 157*o*; Maft, 157*s*; Khuvī or Khoi, 157*t*; Salmās, 157*x*; Urmīyah, 158*b*; Ushnūyah, 158*g*; Sarāv, 158*k*; Miyānij and the Garm-rūd, 158*n*; Marāghah, 158*q*; Pasavā, 158*x*; Dih Khwārḳān, 158*z*; Laylān, 159*b*; Marand, 159*c*; Dizmār, 159*h*; Zanjiyān, 159*l*; Rīwaz, 159*m*; Karkar, 159*n*; Nakhchivān, 159*o*; Akhbān and Urdūbad, 159*r*.

Ḥamd-Allah notes that the capital of Adharbayjān under the earlier Mongols had been Marāghah, but this pre-eminence had in his day been transferred to Tabrīz.[1] A very full account is next given of Tabrīz, beginning with its early history, and how it had recently been rebuilt and enlarged by Ghāzān Khān. Details follow of the new walls, with the ten city gates, also of the outer suburb and wall, with its six gates. Tabrīz, according to Ḥamd-Allah, was the largest city in Persia; it was watered by the river Mihrān-rūd, which rose in the Sahand mountain lying to the south, and round the city lay the seven districts (given above) called for the most part after the various streams which irrigate their lands (the reading of these

[1] The Arab geographers generally give Ardabīl as the capital city; and this became also the capital of Persia under the earlier Safavī kings, until Shāh 'Abbās removed his court to Isfahān.

names, however, is in many cases very uncertain). The Mihrān-rūd, which ran through the suburbs of Tabrīz, and the Sard-rūd to the south-west, which also came down from Mount Sahand, both joined the Sarāv-rūd at a short distance to the north of the city; and this latter river, which rose in the great mountain district called Sablān-kūh to the north-east of Tabrīz, flowed out into the Urmīyah Lake, some forty miles away to the westward of the city. The mountains of Sahand and Sablān, as also these various streams, are all carefully described by Ḥamd-Allah in Appendices II and IV (L. 204*w*, 205*h*, 217*c*, 218*e*, *j*).

The Urmīyah Lake appears to have been known to Ḥamd-Allah under the name of the Lake of Khanjast,[1] but the origin of the name is nowhere explained. He also frequently refers to it as the Salt Lake (Daryā-i-Shūr), or as the Lake of Ṭarūj or Ṭasūj, from the name of the town near its northern shore; and he writes that in an island of the lake the Mongol Princes had their burial-place under a great hill (L. 226*f*). The town of Awjān, or Ujān [**1**], which Ghāzān Khān had rebuilt, lies to the east of Tabrīz, and its river, which rises in Mount Sahand, joins the Sarāv-rūd (L. 218*a*). Ṭarūj [**2**] or Ṭasūj,[2] which sometimes gave its name to the Urmīyah Lake, lay close to its northern shore, and to the west of Tabrīz.

Ardabīl lay at the foot of Mount Sablān, on the river Andarāb, also called the Ardabīl river; this, after passing the Bridge of 'Alī-Shāh, became an affluent of the Ahar

[1] The MSS. vary greatly as to the spelling of the name; *Janjast*, *Janjīsh*, *Khujant*, and *Ḥanjast* appear with other variants. The mediæval Arab geographers knew of the lake also under various names: thus Mas'ūdī (i, 98) and Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 247) call it the Lake of Kabūdhān, Iṣṭakhrī (p. 181) writes of the Buḥayrab-ash-Sharāt, and in Muḳaddasī (p. 380) it is called merely the Lake of Urmīyah. Abu-l-Fidā (p. 42) knows it as the Lake of Tilā; and according to Ḥāfiẓ Abrū (MSS., folio 27*a*) the island in the middle of the lake (now the Shāhī peninsula, which only becomes an island at flood-water: see R. T. Günther, *Geographical Journal* for 1899, p. 516) was crowned by the castle known as Ḳal'ah Tilā, said to have been built by Hūlāgū Khān. He had stored his treasures here, and after his death his tomb was made in this castle, which henceforth was called Gūr-Ḳal'ah, or 'Tomb-Castle.'

[2] Both spellings are given in the MSS. and occur on the present maps. In the map to the paper referred to in the previous note, Mr. Günther gives the name as Turseh.

river, which last flowed into the Aras (L. 217*w*). Above Ardabīl, on the slopes of Mount Sablān, stood the Castles of Diz Bahmān and Diz Rūyīn (or Rūbīn) with some others (L. 204*w*). Khalkhāl is still the name of the District at the foot of Mount Sablān; in the time of Mustawfi it was also the name of its chief town [**3**], but this has apparently disappeared. The town, according to Yāḳūt (i, 198) and the Itinerary, was two days' march from Ardabīl. In former times Fīrūzābād had been the capital of the Khalkhāl District, and Mustawfi mentions a number of the neighbouring villages (Amidah, Khāmidah-Bīl, Sanjad-rūd, and Zanjīlābād), but none of these unfortunately are now to be found on the map. Dārmaraz, with the villages of Ḳūl, Jāmkū, and Zāhar, was of this neighbourhood. Shāhrūd was the District on the stream called the Āb-Shāl, an affluent of the Safīd-rūd (L. 218*h*). Of this district the chief places were Shāl [**4**] and Kulūr (which still exist), and adjacent lay the Ṭālish (or Ṭawālish) District of 'Irāḳ 'Ajamī. Pīshkīn (which in the present maps is written Mīshkīn) is the name of the District of which Ahar [**5**] was the chief town; the town of Pīshkīn also existed, and formerly was known as Varāvī, lying one march from Ahar. A number of other places were of this district, among them Takallafah, Unār, which with Varāvī is described by Yāḳūt (i, 367; iv, 918), also Arjāḳ, Jiyār, and Kalantar, this last being at the foot of the hill called Siyāh Kūh, 'the black mountain' (L. 205*k*). Most of the other places in Pīshkīn here mentioned must have stood on the southern slopes of the Sablān mountain (L. 204*w*), though only the last named, Kalantar, now appears on the map, Ibn Pīshkīn being the family name of the Amir of the Province.

The city of Ahar [**5**] lay on the river of the same name (the Ahar-rūd). This flowed down from the Pass of Armīnān, which the Mongols called Gūlchah Nīl (Blue Lake), and after taking up the Ardabīl river discharged into the Aras (L. 217*y*; see also Route xxiii). To the north of Ahar was the mountain called Sarahand (L. 205*e*), and in the neighbourhood at the foot of Mount Sablān stood the

following places, namely, Darāvard, where the Mongols had their winter quarters, the Castle of Kahrān, Kīlān-Faḍlūn, and Māft (some MSS. have Yāft, and Bāft is printed in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 385). Murdān Na'īm apparently lay to the northward of Ahar, on the Aras river. The castle of Naw-Diz (surrounded by the towns of Hūl, Būl, Hinduvān, and Bulūk-Injū) stood on the upper waters of the Ahar river and is described by Yāḳūt (iv, 822). The city of Khuvī [**6**], or Khoi, stands on an affluent of the Aras which rose in the mountains to the north of Salmās [**7**]. This latter city, as well as Urmīyah [**8**], which now gives its name to the Lake, and Ushnūyah [**9**], all lie at some distance to the westward from the shore, standing on streams that flow into the Lake. The town of Sarāv [**10**], otherwise written Sarāt or Sarāb, lies under Sablān Kūh in the midst of four Districts, these are named by Mustawfi Warzand, Darand, Barāghūsh, and Saḳhīr; its stream has already been mentioned as the most important of the rivers flowing through Tabrīz.

Miyānah or Miyānij [**11**], formerly a large town, but when our author wrote a mere village, stands in the Garm-rūd or 'Hot River' district. At some distance above the town the river Garm-rūd, which rises in the mountains south of Sarāv, joins the left bank of the Miyānij river, and this last below the town further receives the water of the Hasht-rūd—'Eight Streams'—on its right bank, which, before flowing in, passed under a great bridge of thirty-two arches, and had its source in the hills to the eastward of Marāghah (L. 218*h*, *n*, *q*; also *Jihān Numā*, p. 388). The Miyānij river itself came down from the west, rising in the country south of Ujān; after receiving the streams of its two affluents, it turned northward at no great distance from the town of Miyānij, and poured its water into the Safīd-rūd, which from this point, and down a considerable length of its lower course, formed the boundary between the provinces of Adharbayjān and Persian 'Irāḳ. The Safīd-rūd—'White River'—which Mustawfi says the Turks called Hūlān Mūlān (evidently a corruption

of the Mongol words *Ulan Mören*), meaning 'Red River,'[1] had its head-waters in the Kurdistān province in the Jibāl Panj Angusht, called in Turkish Besh-parmaḳ, both names signifying the 'Five-finger-mountain.' Flowing northward, the Safīd-rūd first received the Zanjān river (already mentioned in Chapter 2) on its right bank, then the Miyānij rivers on its left bank, and, next turning westward, received also on its left bank the united streams of the Sanjīdah and Gadīv-rūd (given in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 388, as Sanjad and Kadpū) coming down from the hills to the south of Ardabīl (L. 218*f*), the position of which river is fixed by the Itinerary (Route xx). Below this, and also on the left bank, there flowed in the Shāl river[2] from the Shāhrūd District, already spoken of in a previous paragraph. After passing through the Ṭālish district, the Safīd-rūd was next joined on its right bank by the Ṭārum river, and then by the river Shāh-rūd of the Country of the Assassins, both of which streams have already been mentioned in Chapter 2, and finally in Kawtam of the Gīlān Province the Safīd-rūd flowed out to the Caspian (L. 215*c*).

Marāghah, one of the former capitals of the province of Adharbayjān, stood on the river Ṣāfī-rūd, which, rising in Mount Sahand, flowed out directly, or indirectly by overflowing into the bed of the Jaghtū-rūd, into the Urmīyah Lake (L. 218*g*). The city of Marāghah was famous for the Observatory built by the order of Hūlāgū Khān for Nāṣir-ad-Dīn of Ṭūs, the astronomer, but in the time of Ḥamd-Allah this building was already in ruins.[3] The districts of Marāghah are given as Sarājūn, Niyājūn, Dazakh-rūd, Gāvdūl, Hasht-rūd, Bihistān, Angūrān, and Ḳūl Uzān

[1] Part of its course is now known as the Ḳizil Uzen, which in Turkish has the same meaning. For the Mongol words see *Mongolisch-Deutsch Wörterbuch*, by J. J. Schmidt, pp. 52*b* and 223*c*. From this and other passages, it is clear that Mustawfī uses *Mughāl* (Mongol) and *Turk* indifferently.

[2] This stream is now called the Shāhrūd, like the great right bank affluent from the mountains north of Ḳazvīn, with which it must not be confounded.

[3] These are described by General Schindler in the Berlin *Zeitschrift für Erdkunde*, 1883, p. 338, and a plan is there given.

but the spellings are uncertain. Basawā [**12**] or Pasavā will be found on the map to the south-east of Ushnūyah, and Dih Khwārkān [**13**], on a stream from Mount Sahand, lies near the eastern shore of Lake Urmīyah. Laylān [**14**]—the MSS. generally spell the name Naylān—is on the Jaghtū river, which, side by side with the river Taghtū, both rising in the Kurdistān hills, flows into the lake from the south. At periods of high flood the waters of the rivers Ṣāfī, Taghtū, and Jaghtū all mingle together in the swamp formed at the south-western corner of the Urmīyah Lake (L. 218*b*, *p*).

The town of Marand [**15**] lies to the north of the lake, and its river, which is also called the Zūlū, is a tributary of the Khoi (or Khuvī) river, which flows to the Aras (L. 218*l*). To the northward of Marand lay the castle of Dizmār, on a tributary of the Aras, which Yāḳūt (ii, 573) has also described. Zanjiyān or Zangiyān [**16**] stood near the bridge over the Aras called Pūl-i-Khudā Āfarīn, and this was counted as of the Murdān Na'īm district mentioned above. In this neighbourhood also appears to have been the town of Rīvaz—some MSS. give Zathūr and Dīvaz, with Zanūz in the *Jihān Numā* (p. 387). Karkar [**17**] is mentioned by Yāḳūt (iv, 262), and is possibly identical with the fortress named Ḥiṣār Karni (from a mistake of the copyist) by 'Alī of Yazd; it stood close to the great bridge over the Aras, built by Ḍiyā-al-Mulk, son of Malik-Shāh's Wazīr, the celebrated Niẓām-al-Mulk. 'Alī of Yazd describes this bridge at some length (*Ẓafar Nāmah*, i, 399), and it crossed the Aras on the direct road from Nakhchivān to Marand.

Nakhchivān [**18**], which the Arab geographers called Nashawā, lies to the north of the Aras, and four leagues from the city was the snow-clad mountain of Māst-Kūh (L. 206*r*). The fortress of Alanjīḳ, according to Saint Martin (*Mémoire sur l'Arménie*, i, 146), was called Erenjag in Armenian, and lay a short distance to the east of Nakhchivān. Mustawfi also speaks of Shūrmārī, Naghaz, and Faghān as fortresses of the Nakhchivān District; and probably likewise of this

neighbourhood was Akhbān (or Ajnān), known as the Kār-khānah or 'Workshop,' on account of the works at the neighbouring copper-mine. Urdūbād [**19**] stands on the Aras, at the junction of a stream from the north, which Mustawfi says rises in Mount Kiyān (or Kibān), and on this same river higher up lay Azād, the last town mentioned in this chapter.

Chapter 4. *Mūghān and Arrān.*

Contents: Bajarvān, 159*z*; Barzand, 160*f*; Pīlvār, 160*j*; Maḥmūdābād and Hamshahrah, 160*k*; Baylaḳān, 160*n*; Ganjah, 160*p*; Barda'ah, 160*s*; Hīrak, 160*v*.

Mūghān or Mūḳān is still the name of the Steppe country lying south of the lower course of the Aras river. Ḥamd-Allah states that this district stretched from the right bank of the river southward to the pass of Sang-bar-Sang—'Stone upon Stone'—in the hills above Pīshkīn, and that from the plain the mountain of Sablān Kūh was everywhere visible. As of this province he also mentions (L. 206*k*) the region called Gulistān Kūh—'Rose-garden mountain'—noted for its flowers, and here the Mulāḥid sect or Assassins had their famous paradise. Bajarvān had of old been the capital of Mūghān, but in the time of Mustawfi was fallen to ruin and become a mere village. It is no longer found on the map, but its position is given in the Itinerary (Routes xx and xxiii) as lying four leagues north of Barzand [**1**], which still exists, and which was a notable town as early as the days of the Caliph Mu'taṣim, son of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd. Pīlvār [**2**] or Pīlsuvār (not marked on any map) stood on the stream coming from Bajarvān, and was eight leagues distant from the latter town. It is said to have been named after an Amīr of the Buyids. Maḥmūdābād [**3**] in the plain of Gāvbārī, near the Caspian, according to the Itinerary (Route xxi) was twelve leagues beyond Pīlvār. Hamshahrah lay two leagues distant from the sea-shore; it

was also called Bū-Shahrah or Abar-Shahr, according to the *Jihān Numā* (p. 393), but it is impossible now to fix exactly the position of any of these places, which appear to have completely disappeared from the modern maps.

The territory of Arrān, which the Arab geographers always spell Al-Rān (pronounced Ar-Rān), as though it were an Arabic name, is the triangle of land included between the rivers Aras and Kur—the Araxes and Cyrus. The Aras is described (L. 213*b*) as rising in the Ḳālīḳalā mountains near Arzan-ar-Rūm (now Erzerum), whence it flows through Armenia and along the southern border of Arrān to its junction with the Kur, having been previously joined from the south, or right bank, by the Ḳāra Sū, the name, apparently, of the lower course of united streams which flow down from Ardabīl and Ahar described in Chapter 3. The river Kur (L. 215*y*) also rose in the Ḳālīḳalā mountains, and passing through Gurjistān came to the city of Tiflīs. Below this town it formed the northern frontier of Arrān, and Ḥamd-Allah states that here a branch went off to the Lake of Shamkūr, though what sheet of water is thus indicated is not very clear. Thence the main stream of the Kur passed on down to its junction with the Aras, the combined streams flowing out to the Caspian after passing through the Gushtāsfī country.

The capital of Arrān was Baylaḳān, at the close of the fourteenth century A.D. frequently mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd in his account of the conquests of Timur. During his siege the city was partially destroyed, but was rebuilt in 1403 A.D. by command of Timur, and a canal dug, six farsakhs long, bringing to it the waters of the Aras river (*Ẓafar Nāmah*, ii, 543, 545). Though apparently all traces of the town have disappeared, its approximate position is fixed by the Arab Itineraries of Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 122), Ḳudāmah (p. 213), and Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 251). According to these Baylaḳān lay fourteen leagues south of Bardhā'ah, and seven or nine leagues north of the Aras bank, on the road coming up from Barzand. In Armenian it was known as Phaidagaran (Saint Martin, *Mémoire sur l'Arménie*,

i, 154). Bardhā'ah [4], a town that still exists, the name being more often written Barda', stood on the river Tartur, a right bank affluent of the Kur; and Ganjah to the north-west is now more generally known as Elizabetpol, its Russian name. Sīrak, or Hīrak, was the name of the summer pastures above Barda', but it is not now found marked on our maps, and in the *Jihān Numā* (p. 392) the name is printed Tark.

Chapter 5. *Shīrvān.*

Contents: Bākūyah, 159*s* and 161*a*; Shamākhī, 161*a*; Ḳabalah, 161*c*; Fīrūzābād or Fīrūzḳubād, 161*d*; the Gushtāsfī District, 161*e*.

The province of Shīrvān lay to the north of the Kur river, and extended to the foot of that part of the Caucasus range known to Moslem geographers as Darband-i-Bāb-al-Abwāb—'the Barrier of the Gate of Gates.' Bākūyah, or Bākū, was its port on the Caspian, and Shamākhī inland —now called Shemākhā—was the capital city, famous, as Mustawfī relates, from the legendary Rock of Moses and the Fountain of Life, both of which were said to have existed here. Ḳabalah stood near the mountains; its position is unknown, but from its mention by 'Alī of Yazd (i, 406) when describing the campaigns of Timur in Georgia, it must have stood very near the river Kur, and the Ḳabalah mountain is also mentioned by Mustawfī (L. 206*d*). Fīrūzābād, or Fīrūz-ḳūbād, both names being given by Yāḳūt (iii, 928, 929), was a town standing in the neighbourhood of the Caspian, though its position cannot be more exactly fixed. The Gushtāsfī province, said to have been so named after Gushtāsf, one of the ancient Persian kings, formed part of Shīrvān, and lay along the shore of the Caspian above the mouth of the Aras river.

Chapter 6. *Gurjistān and Abkhās.*

Contents: Alān, 161*k*; Ānī, 161*m*; Tiflīs, 161*n*; Khunān, 161*p*; Ḳarṣ, 161*p*.

In the district of Abkhasia Alān is given by Mustawfi as the name of a town lying under the Alburz Mountains on an affluent of the Kur. Ānī was the ancient capital of Georgia, the ruins of which still remain; but Tiflīs had become the chief city of the province already in the time of Ḥamd-Allah. Khunān (reading uncertain, Janān, Khabān, and Ḥabān, all being given in the MSS.) was the name of a castle on the Arrān frontier. According to Muḳaddasī (p. 382) and other Arab geographers this town lay half-way between Shamkūr and Tiflīs, being three marches from either place. Ḳarṣ, to the south-west of Tiflīs, was already a town with a strong fortress when Ḥamd-Allah wrote.

Chapter 7. *Rūm.*

Contents: Sīvās, 161*y*; Abulustān and Anḳurah, 162*a*; Arzanjān, 162*b*; Arzan-ar-Rūm, 162*e*; Arāk, 162*j*; Aḳsīḳ, 162*l*; Āḳ Sarāy, 162*l*; Āḳ Shahr, 162*n*; Amāsiyah, 162*o*; Anṭākiyah and Awnīk, 162*q*; Bāburt, 162*s*; Zūfarlū and Zūbarkī, 162*t*; Dhūlū, 162*u*; Kharbirt, 162*v*; Shahrah, 162*w*; Samsūn, 162*w*; Shimshāṭ, 162*x*; 'Amūrīyah, 162*z*; Ḳālīḳalā, 163*b*; Ḳarā Ḥiṣār, 163*e*; Ḳasṭamūniyah, 163*g*; Ḳūmanāt, 163*h*; Ḳūniyah, 163*j*; Ḳayṣarīyah, 163*s*; Kāt, 163*v*; Kamākh, 163*w*; Gūl, Kīr, and Baḳīj, 163*x*; Lūlūah, 163*y*; Malaṭiyah, 163*z*; Nigdah and Niksār, 164*c*; Hūshyār, 164*d*; Yalḳān Bāzār, 164*f*; Zamandū, 164*g*; Ḳīrshahr, 164*h*; Kadūk and Tamaraghāch, 164*j*; Ziyārāt Bāzār, 164*k*; Agrīdūr and Ḳawāḳ, 164*l*; Ḳūsh Ḥiṣār and Sivrī Ḥiṣār, 164*m*; Ḳulūniyah, Gustaḳī, and Malanḳūbiyah, 164*n*.

The kingdom of Rūm, Asia Minor, was at the time when Mustawfi wrote divided among the dynasties of the Ten Amīrs, who had succeeded to the inheritance of the Saljūḳs

in these parts, and their history has been fully discussed by Professor Lane-Poole in the pages of this Journal (1882, p. 773). Unfortunately, the Arab geographers afford us but little information about Asia Minor, which, during the earlier centuries of the Abbasids, had of course formed part of the Byzantine empire, and which only came within the boundaries of Islām when occupied (470 A.H.) by the Saljūḳs of Rūm in the latter part of the eleventh century A.D. The next two centuries (the sixth and seventh of the Hijrah) were the period of magnificence for these Saljūḳs in Asia Minor, after which their power rapidly waned before the rising glory of the Ottoman Turks, whose Sultan, 'Orkhān, in the early part of the fourteenth century A.D. had established his capital at Brusa, had organized the famous corps of the Janisaries, and, after taking Nicomedia in 1327 and Nicæa in 1330, was threatening the Hellespont.

This was the state of affairs when Mustawfi wrote, and which is described by his contemporary Ibn Baṭūṭah, who travelled over the length and the breadth of Asia Minor during the year 733 (1333 A.D.). The description of Asia Minor given by Mustawfi, however, evidently dates from an earlier period, and gives an account of the country as it was under the Saljūḳs; he knows nothing of the later conquests of the Turks, and the most western town, apparently, that he mentions is Gūl Ḥiṣār, 120 miles south-west of Anṭākīyah. More than one-half of the places mentioned in this chapter of the *Nuzhat* can easily be identified on the modern map; but unfortunately, among some fifty place-names, I am unable to fix either the position or the true reading for nearly a score of towns, and neither Ibn Baṭūṭah nor Ḥājji Khalfah are of much aid in the matter.

The *Jihān Numā* of the latter author quotes little of the *Nuzhat* in the chapters devoted to Asia Minor, and the *Jihān Numā* describes the country as it existed in the days when Ḥājji Khalfah wrote, namely, at the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D., when all Asia Minor had for nearly three centuries formed an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. Further, the information which Mustawfi gives

about the towns that he names is very meagre, and the alphabetical order, in which for the most part these names are arranged, unfortunately fails to give the clue which we should have were the towns mentioned according to the various districts, or province by province.

The chief city of the Kingdom of Rūm was Sīvās (Sebasteia), which had been rebuilt by 'Alā-ad-Dīn Kay-Ḳubād the Saljūḳ. Its wool was famous and was largely exported. Abulustān is now known as Al-Bustān, and is the mediæval Arabissus. Anḳurah (written with the dotted *ḳ* and short vowel) is Angora; but the name, as Yāḳūt (i, 390) states, is more generally written Angūrīyah (with *g* or *k*, and long vowels), under which form it frequently occurs in the *Ẓafar Nāmah* of 'Alī of Yazd (ii, 417 and elsewhere). Arzanjān on the upper Euphrates and Arzan-ar-Rūm (Erzerum) need no comment, being well known. Arāk also lay near the Euphrates, but it is not apparently marked on the map; neither is Aḳsīk to be found, but the readings in both cases are doubtful. Āḳ Sarāy—'White Palace'—is some distance to the south-west of the Tatta Lake; it was built by 'Izz-ad-Dīn Ḳilij-Arslān the Saljūḳ in 566 (1171 A.D.).

There were two places called Āḳ Shahr—'White Town'—one lying seven leagues north-west of Arzanjān; the other a town three marches to the north-west of Ḳūniyah, and both are marked on our maps. Amāsiyah (Amaseia on the Halys) and Anṭākīyah (Antiocheia) still exist. Awnīk or Avanīk is given by Yāḳūt (i, 408), and 'Alī of Yazd (i, 691) mentions it as having been stormed and captured by Timur; it being a castle in the mountains eight leagues distant from Arzan-ar-Rūm. Mustawfi adds that the town at the foot of the castle was called Abaskhūr; and according to Saint Martin (*Mémoire*, i, 109) Avanīk is the place now called in Turkish Javān Ḳal'ah, which lies to the north of the Aras between Ḥasan Ḳal'ah on the west and Majankird on the east. Bābirt lies to the north of Arzanjān, but I am unable to identify Zūfarlū, Zūbarkī, Dhūlū (or Zūlū), and Shahrah, which last is reported tc have

stood on the coast of the Black Sea; the spelling, however, of the first three names is very doubtful, and apparently none of them occur in the pages of the *Jihān Numā*, or in any of the earlier geographers. Kharbirt, or Kharput, is near the junction of the eastern Euphrates or river Arsanās, on which stream, but higher up, lay Shimshāṭ (see I.S. 57). Samsūn was already a celebrated port for shipping on the Black Sea; 'Amūriyah (Amorium) still exists (Mustawfi, apparently by some error, states that the name was then pronounced Ankūrīyah, which, as already noted, is Angora). Ḳālīḳalā was a city in the country of this name, near the Armenian frontier (see I.S. 64), which has generally been identified with the Byzantine city of Theodosiopolis on the upper Euphrates, otherwise called Karjn.

Ḳarā Ḥiṣār—'Black Fort'—was the name of diverse castles, four of which were especially celebrated. One (apparently not marked in our maps) was on the mountains near Ḳayṣarīyah; another was of the district of Ḳūniyah (probably the Ḳarā Ḥiṣār lying south-west of 'Amūriyah); a third castle of this name stood near Nikdah, while the fourth Ḳarā Ḥiṣār is that lying a short distance north-east of Āḳ Shahr and belonging to the Arzanjān district. Ḳasṭamūniyah lies some distance west from Samsūn; and Kūmanāt is one of the many towns called Comana by the Greeks. Ḳūniyah is the older Iconium; here the castle had been built by Sulṭān Ḳilij Arslān of cut stone, and in like material great city walls were erected by 'Alā-ad-Dīn Kay-Ḳubād the Saljūḳ; Ḳūniyah further was celebrated for the tomb of the Ṣūfī saint and poet Jalāl-ad-Dīn Rūmī.

Ḳayṣariyah (Caesareia Mazaka) still exists, but Kāt (or Kāb) is apparently not to be found on our maps. Kamākh (or Kamkh) on the Euphrates is well known (I.S. 48), and Gūl is probably Gūl Ḥiṣār to the south-west of Anṭākiyah, which was visited by Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 269), but the double town called Kīr and Bakīj I am unable to identify. Lūlūah is in the Cilician passes north-west of Tarsus, and Nikdah (or Nigdah) lies to the north of it. Malaṭīyah is Melitene near

the Euphrates (I.S. 48), and Niksār stands a short distance south-east of Samsūn and Amāsiyah.

Hūshyār (which is not mentioned in the *Jihān Numā*) is said to have been the Castle of Karamān, better known as Larandah, the capital of the Karamān province on the borders of Little Armenia. Yalḳān Bāzār (not marked on our maps) was a town between Ḳūniyah and Āḳ Shahr, celebrated for its hot springs; and Ḳīr-Shahr, frequently mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd (ii, 418 and elsewhere), stands half-way between Ankūrah and Ḳayṣariyah. Zamandū, Kadūk (or Kadūl), and Ṭamar Aghāch (or Ṭūr Aghach) I am unable to identify, and the names do not occur in the *Jihān Numā*. Ziyārat Bāzār is possibly the town of Ziyārat to the south of Kharpūt. Agrīdūr is the town at the southern end of the lake of this name; it is mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 266), also by 'Alī of Yazd (ii, 485). Ḳavāḳ probably is the place of this name lying a short distance to the west of Sīvās. Sivrī Ḥiṣār is the well-known city, north of 'Amūriyah, to which, according to 'Alī of Yazd (ii, 448), Timur marched in six stages from Angora. Neither Ḳulūniyah (Colonia) nor Kastaḳī occurs in the *Jihān Numā*, nor is either apparently to be found on the map, for both are said by Mustawfī to lie on the shore of the Black Sea.[1] Ḳūsh Ḥiṣār, however, exists, standing to the south of Ḳasṭamūniyah, and Malanḳūbiyah, which is referred to by Yāḳūt (iv, 635), lies east of Ḳūniyah, and is the ancient Malacopeia.

[1] Ḳulūniyah of the Arab geographers is generally identified with Colonia, founded by Pompey as described by Procopius, which the Armenians call Aghovendzor, or Goghonia, and which lies about 60 miles north-west of Kamḳḥ. See Saint Martin, *Mémoire sur l'Arménie*, i, 189.

Chapter 8. *Armenia.*

Contents: Akhlāṭ, 164*t*; Abṭūṭ (or Abtūk) and Arjīsh, 164*v*; Armūk, 164*x*; Alāṭāḳ, 164*y*; Bārkīrī, 164*z*; Bayān, 165*b*; Kharādīn, 165*c*; Khūshāb, Jaramrast, and Lūḳiyāmāt, 165*d*; Hangāmābād, 165*e*; Salam and 'Ayn, 165*f*; Kabūd and Malāzgird, 165*g*; Vān and Vasṭān, 165*j*; Valāshgird, 165*m*.

The Arab geographers unfortunately afford us but meagre accounts of Armenia, and though 'Alī of Yazd in his description of the campaigns of Timur enables us to identify some of the outstanding names, Ḥājji Khalfah in the *Jihān Numā* proves of little service. Hence, out of the list, as given above, it has been only possible to identify a third of the places named.

Ḥamd-Allah remarks that this country is divided into Greater and Lesser Armenia; but that with Lesser Armenia (otherwise Cilicia), of which the capital was Sīs, he does not deal in detail, for this formed no part of Īrān. The great lake which is the central feature of the country, now called Lake Vān, Ḥamd-Allah describes (L. 226*j*) under the name of the Arjīsh or Akhlāṭ Lake, from what were then the two chief towns on its borders. It was celebrated for the fish called *Ṭīrrikh*, with which its waters, that were salt, abounded. Our author also speaks of the modern Gūkchah Lake under the name of Buḥayrah Gūkchah Tangīz, meaning in Turkish 'the Blue Lake' (L. 226*k*). It lay on the Adharbayjān frontier of Armenia, and its waters were sweet and good for drinking; the Gūkchah Tangīz is also frequently mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd (*Ẓafar Nāmah*, i, 414, 415; ii, 378).

The town of Akhlāṭ, at the north-west corner of the Vān Lake, was then the capital of Armenia and produced revenue to the amount of 50,500 dīnārs (about £12,500), and above Akhlāṭ to the eastward rose the great mountain of Kūh Sībān, now called Sīpān Dāgh (L. 205*l*). Neither Abṭūṭ, 'a fine town,' nor Armūk is apparently marked on the map; but Arjīsh is still found at the north-west end of the lake. Alāṭāḳ

is described as a good pasture-ground, where Arghūn Khān had built himself a Saray or palace for his summer quarters; it is the mountainous region now known as Ala Dāgh to the north and north-east of the lake, and is frequently mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd (I.S. 417, 421, 685); further, Timur kept his standing camp here during the Georgian campaigns. In the neighbourhood is the town of Band-Māhī (Fish Dam), one stage to the eastward of Arjīsh (see Route xxv) on the Arjīsh bay of Lake Vān. Khūshāb lies at some distance to the south-east of the Vān Lake.

The places named Bayān (or Nabār), Kharādīn (Kharāvīn or Jazāvīn), Jarmarast (Jarvarīb or Harsarbat), Lūḳiyāmāt (Tūmānāt), Hangāmābād, Salam (Shalam), 'Ayn, and Kabūd, are none of them to be found in Yāḳūt, though many of these names are copied into the *Jihān Numā* (p. 418) without comment; they have apparently also disappeared from the map, and the readings are in most cases uncertain. Malāzjird lies on the upper course of the western Euphrates, due north of Lake Vān: the city of Vān itself is near the eastern end of the lake, and Vasṭān lies on its southern shore. The exact position of Valāshgird is doubtful; but Yāḳūt (iv, 939) mentions a town of this name as situated near Akhlāṭ, though none is now shown on the map.

Chapter 9. *Jazīrah or Upper Mesopotamia.*

Contents: Mosul, 165*p*; Irbil, 165*s*; Arzan and Āmid, 165*t*; Bāṣaydah and Bāṭarnūḥ, 165*v*; Barṭallā, 165*w*; Jasār, 165*x*; Bawāzīj and Jazīrah Ibn 'Omar, 165*y*; Ḥānī and Sīwān, 165*z*; Ḥarrān, 166*a*; Ḥiṣn Kayfā and Khābūr, 166*e*; Rās-al-'Ayn, 166*f*; Raḳḳah, 166*g*; Ruhā and Sa'īrd, 166*o*; Sanjar, 166*p*; Sūḳ-ath-Thamānīn, 166*t*; 'Aḳar, 166*u*; 'Imādīyah, 166*w*; Ḳarḳīsīyā, 166*x*; Karmalīs and Mardīn, 166*y*; Mūsh, 167*c*; Mayāfārīḳayn, 167*e*; Naṣībīn, 167*f*; Nīnavī, 167*l*.

The upper part of Mesopotamia is known either as Jazīrah, 'the Island,' or else as Diyār-Bakr and Diyār-Rabī'ah,

meaning the Lands of Bakr and Rabī'ah, the two Arab tribes which had settled in these parts before the Moslem conquest. Diyār-Rabī'ah is the south-eastern half of the province, with Mosul for capital; Diyār-Bakr being the north-western part, with Āmid for its chief town. Mosul on the Tigris was the largest city of the Jazīrah province; but Irbil (Arbela), to the eastward, standing half-way between the banks of the two Zābs, was a place of great importance. The Upper or Greater Zāb rose in the mountains of Armenia and flowed down to join the Tigris at Ḥadīthah[1]; while the Lower or Lesser Zāb, called also Majnūn, 'the mad river,' because of its swift current, rising also in Armenia joined the Tigris at the hill of Sinn (L. 214*j*). In many of the MSS.[2] Arzan or Arzanah is next described, an important town standing on a left bank affluent of the Tigris, and its ruins still exist.

Āmid is the chief place of Diyār-Bakr (and the town is often called by the name of the province); it stands on the Tigris to the westward and higher up than the inflow of the Arzan river. The towns of Bāṣaydah and Bāṭarnūḥ I am unable to identify[3] (the latter name being variously given in the MSS. as Bāẓarnūkh, Bāṭahbūj, etc.), but from its position in the alphabetical order, the first syllable is apparently Bā—the Syriac form of *Bayt* or *Beth*—so common in the place-names of this region. Barṭallā is mentioned by Yāḳūt (i, 567), and still exists about sixteen miles to the eastward of Mosul, but it is difficult to identify the town called Jār or Jasār, and the reading is probably corrupt. Bawāzīj, though it has disappeared from the map, is mentioned by Yāḳūt (i, 750), and from his account we learn that it stood near the mouth of the Lower

[1] Not to be confounded with Ḥadīthah on the Euphrates, mentioned in Chapter 1.

[2] British Museum MSS., Add. 7,708, 16,737, and 23,543. Not to be confounded with Arzan-ar-Rūm, otherwise Erzerum. In the *Ẓafar Nāmah* (i, 665) the name is spelt Arzīn.

[3] Unless for Bāṣaydah we read Bāṣabdah, which might be merely another way of spelling Bāzabdā (as the name is given by Yāḳūt, i, 466), the well-known town on the eastern bank of the Tigris opposite Jazīrah Ibn 'Omar, which had been the Roman fortress of Bezabda.

Zāb, and not far from the hill of Sinn. Jazīrah Ibn 'Omar is a town on an island in the Tigris above Mosul (see I.S. 34), and Ḥānī, to the north of Āmid, according to Yāḳūt (ii, 188), was celebrated for its iron-mine. What place Sitwān or Sīwān represents is not clear, but the reading is not improbably corrupt.

Ḥarrān, with its castle of cut stone, founded, it was said, by Arphaxad, son of Shem, lay near the sources of the river Balīkh, which joined the Euphrates at Raḳḳah (L. 219*j*). Ḥiṣn Kayfā is an important fortress on the Tigris, lying due south of Arzan (I.S. 264). Khābūr is the name of some town on the Khābūr river, on which stood Rās-al-'Ayn, and the Khābūr river, after taking up the Hirmās, joined the Euphrates at Ḳarḳīsīyā, or Circesium. Raḳḳah, the ancient Callinicus, stands on the Euphrates, above the junction of the Balīkh river (I.S. 50), near the famous battlefield of Siffīn. Ruhā, or Edessa, is described in many of the MSS.,[1] and some details are given of its wonderful churches. Sā'ird (south of Bitlis) was famous for its manufacture of copper pots and cups. Sinjar stood on the mountain side overlooking the Tharthār river, this last being a branch stream from the Hirmās river, which, flowing eastward, joined the Tigris at Takrīt (L. 219*o*).

Sūḳ Thamānīn—'Market of the Eighty'—records the settlement of that number of the companions of Noah when, according to Moslem tradition, the Ark came to rest on Jabal Jūdī. This Sūḳ Thamānīn is not found on the maps, but Mount Jūdī is known, and in his Itinerary Muḳaddasī (p. 149) reports that this town lay one march distant (west) of Jazīrah Ibn 'Omar, and Abu-l-Fidā (p. 275) says that Thamānīn lay to the north of 'Imādīyah. 'Aḳr, signifying 'a castle,' constantly recurs in place-names; the castle here intended is doubtless 'Aḳr-al-Ḥumaydīyah, mentioned also by Yāḳūt (iii, 696), which is marked on the map some thirty miles to the south-east of 'Imādīyah. This last, a town of considerable size, is said by Mustawfi to have

[1] Those cited above, and others.

taken its name from 'Imād-ad-Dawlah the Buyid (brother of Mu'izz-ad-Dawlah), who died in 338 (A.D. 949). According to Ibn-al-Athīr (xi, 60), however, 'Imādīyah had its name from 'Imād-ad-Dīn Zangi, Lord of Mosul, who had founded the town in 537 (A.D. 1142). Not far from 'Imādīyah is Karmalīs, of the Mosul district, also mentioned by Yāḳūt (iv, 267), which will be found to the south of Barṭallā. Ḳarḳīsīyā stands on the Euphrates at the junction of the Khābūr (I.S. 51). Mardīn was famous for its castle, and the Sūr river which irrigated its gardens flowed thence northward to join the Tigris (L. 219*p*). Mūsh stands near the upper waters of the Arsanas or eastern Euphrates, Mayāfarīḳayn lying south-west of it, and on a left bank affluent of the Tigris. Naṣībīn or Nisibis, celebrated for its roses and venomous scorpions, is on the Hirmās river, which forms the chief affluent of the Khābūr (L. 219*m*); lastly, Nineveh (Nīnavī), opposite Mosul on the Tigris, was famous for the shrine shown here of the prophet Yūnus or Jonah.

Chapter 10. *Kurdistān.*

Contents: Alānī, 167*q*; Alīshtar and Bahār, 167*r*; Khuftiyān, 167*s*; Darband Tāj Khātūn and Darband Zangī, 167*t*; Darbīl, 167*u*; Dīnavar, 167*v*; Sulṭānābād Jamjamāl, 167*w*; Shahrazūr, 167*y*; Kirmānshāh, 168*a*; Kirind and Khūshān, 168*f*; Kanguvar, 168*h*; Māyidasht, 168*k*; Harsīn, 168*l*; Vasṭām, 168*m*.

The description of Kurdistān given by Mustawfi (which Ḥājji Khalfah has copied almost verbatim into his *Jihān Numā*) presents a number of small problems which I find myself unable satisfactorily to solve. Kurdistān, or the Land of the Kurds, is not mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers, and it appears to have been first erected into a separate government under the Saljūḳs, who, in the time of Sulaymān Shah, divided it off from the rest of the Jibāl Province, which they called Persian 'Irāḳ, as explained in Chapter 2. Sulaymān Shāh, under whose rule Kurdistān appears to have flourished greatly, surnamed Abūh (or

Ayūb) was the nephew of Sultan Sinjar, who had appointed him governor of this province, and Sulaymān Shāh at a later date—that is, from 554 to 556 (1159 to 1161 A.D.)—became for a short time the Saljūḳ Sultan of the Two 'Irāḳs, and chief of his house.

Alānī (thus in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 450, though some MSS. read Alābī) was one of the chief towns of the province of Kurdistān, but no trace of it is to be discovered on the present maps, it is mentioned apparently by no other geographer, and is not marked in the Itinerary. At Alīshtar (the next town named by Mustawfi) there was an ancient Fire-temple called Ardahish (or Arakhash), and Alīshtar [**1**] would appear to have been some town in the well-known plain of this name, still so marked on our maps. This town is possibly that given in Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 259), and others, as lying ten farsakhs south-west of Nihāvand, being twelve leagues north of Sābūrkhwāst. The older geographers, however, spell the name Lāshtar, and the MSS. of the *Nuzhat* give every variety of reading for this name—such as Alīsht, Al-Bashr (so in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 450), Alīshar and Basht—so that the identification given above is more than doubtful; and in regard to the Fire-temple I am at a loss for any further references.[1]

The town of Bahār [**2**], with its castle, which Ḥamd-Allah reports to have been the capital of Kurdistān in the days of Sulaymān Shāh, lies some eight miles to the north of Hamadān. Khuftiyān (given as Khunyān, Huḳhān, Jufbān, and Khaysān, with diverse other readings in the MSS., the form Ḥaḳshiyān being printed in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 450) is difficult to identify; it was a fine castle, according to Ḥamd-Allah, that stood on the bank of the Zāb river (but

[1] On his march from Tustar to Shīrāz, Timur, according to 'Alī of Yazd (i, 600), after crossing the Āb-Shīrīn, camped on the Plain of Lāshtar, and two days later coming to the river of the Sha'b Bavvān valley, halted at Basht. Both places will be found on the modern map, and naturally suggest themselves as possible alternatives, one or other, for the town of Kurdistān mentioned by Ḥamd-Allah; but unfortunately both would appear to be out of the question, and too far south (being well within the boundary of Fārs) ever to have been counted as of Kurdistān. The *Jihān Numā*, as usual, merely copies the *Nuzhat* without comment.

whether Upper or Lower Zab is not stated), being surrounded by many villages.

The towns of Darband (Pass of) Tāj Khātūn and Darband Zangī, also, are neither of them marked on the map; Darband Tāshī Khātūn, however, is frequently referred to by 'Alī of Yazd (i, 585, 599, 640) in his account of the marches of Timur through Kurdistān. Dirbīl, or Dizbīl, 'a medium-sized town,' likewise is not found either on the map or in the works of the earlier Arab geographers; the spelling, however, is most uncertain, the MSS. giving Darsīl, Wazpal, etc., with some other variants.

Dīnavar, the ruins of which have been described by De Morgan (*Mission en Perse*, ii, 95, 96), was still, when Mustawfi wrote, a fine town, and produced excellent corn crops. The ruins of Jamjamāl [**3**] are marked on the maps as lying due east of Kirmānshāh and south of Bīsūtūn [**7**], this position (for there are other villages of the same name) being confirmed by the distances given in the Itinerary (Route ii); and our author states that this place, called more especially Sulṭānābād Jamjamāl, was at one time the capital of Kurdistān, and that it was founded by Sultan Uljaytū the Mongol. The city of Shahrazūr [**4**] is to be identified with the ruins at Yāsīn Tappah, in the present plain of Shahrazūr. The town was known to the Persians as Nīm-Rāh—'Half-way'—that is, lying half-way between the ancient Fire-temple at Madāin and the Temple on the Adharbayjān frontier at Satūrīḳ (already mentioned above in Chapter 2), which Sir H. Rawlinson has identified with Shīz of the Arab geographers (see J.R.G.S., x, 65).

Kirmānshāh, which the Arabs called Ḳirmīsīn, was celebrated for the sculptures in the neighbouring mountain of Bīsūtūn. Kirind [**5**] and Kūshān were two villages at the head of the Hulwān pass; the name of Kūshān has now apparently disappeared from the maps, though Kirind remains; and this latter in the time of Mustawfi was the less important place of the two. Kanguvār, which the Arabs called Ḳaṣr-al-Luṣūṣ—'Robbers' Castle'—according to our author had been built with stones taken from the ancient

site at Bīsūtūn. Māyidasht, or Māhidasht, is still the name of the great plain watered by the Kirind river; and Harsīn [**6**], the name of a castle and town, lies some miles south-east of Kirmānshāh. Finally, Vasṭām [**7**], or Basṭām, is apparently the hamlet near the present Ṭāḳ-i-Bustān, at the foot of the Bīsūtūn hill, for it is described as a large village lying over against the great Achæmenian sculptures, which represent, according to the Persians, King Khusrū Parvīz and his horse Shabdīz, with Queen Shīrīn, and these Mustawfi carefully describes in his account of the Bīsūtūn mountain (L. 203*f*).

Chapter 11. *Khūzistān.*

Contents: Tustar, 168*p*; Ahwāz, 169*c*; Tarb, 169*e*; Junday Shāpūr, 169*g*; Ḥawīzah, 169*j*; Dizfūl, 169*l*; Daskarah, 169*q*; Rāmhurmuz, 169*r*; Sūs, 169*t*; Ṭarāzak, 169*w*; 'Askar Mukram, 169*x*; Masruḳān, 170*a*.

Before noticing the towns in this province it will be well to summarize such information as is given by Ḥamd-Allah about the rivers which flow out to the Persian Gulf by separate mouths or through the tidal estuaries of the Shaṭṭ-al-'Arab. The chief stream of Khūzistān is the Kārūn, which Mustawfi and the older geographers call the Dujayl (or Little Tigris) of Tustar. This had its source in the Zardah Kūh—'the Yellow Mountains'—of Great Lur, where also the Zandah-rūd of Isfahān had its head-waters (L. 204*q*, and see Chapter 2). The Dujayl river, after many windings, flowed down past Tustar to 'Askar Mukram and Ahwāz, where it was joined by the Dizfūl river, and their united streams poured into the broad estuary of the Shaṭṭ-al-'Arab (L. 214*e*), which went out to the Persian Gulf. The Dizfūl river, which joined the Kārūn below 'Askar Mukram, was formed by the united streams of the Kazkī river and the Ab-i-Ḳaw'ah (or Ḳar'ah), which last, flowing down from

Burūjird (see above, Chapter 2), was also named the Sīlākhūr (L. 215*u*). Further to the westward came the Karkhah, also called the river of Sūs; this rose in the Alvand mountains; it was soon joined by the river Kūlkū, also by the stream from Khurramābād, and thence flowing down past Sūs to the Ḥawīzah country came to the tidal estuary of the Kārūn, by which its waters, uniting with the overflow of the Tigris and Euphrates, finally reached the sea (L. 216*w*, also *Jihān Numā*, p. 286).

The boundary between Khūzistān and Fārs was formed by the river Ṭāb, which is the name that Mustawfi and all the Arab geographers give to the river called at present the Jarrāhī; the modern Ṭāb river (flowing past Hindiyān) being presumably the mediæval Āb-i-Shīrīn, but there is some confusion in the present nomenclature. The Ṭāb river (of Mustawfi and the Arab geographers) rose in the Saram hills in Luristān, it was soon joined by the waters of the Āb-i-Masin which came down from the Sumayram mountains, and the united streams some distance below the point of junction were crossed by the great bridge of Rakān near Arrajān. After watering the Rīshahr districts the Ṭāb finally flowed out to the sea (L. 218*s*, *u*); and these places will all be more particularly mentioned in Chapter 12 on Fārs.

Khūzistān was coterminous on the north with Kurdistān, these two Provinces coming in between Arabian and Persian 'Irāḳ, though Ṣaymarah, counted as of the latter (see Chapter 2), must have been very near the frontier of 'Irāḳ 'Arabī. When Mustawfi wrote the capital of the Khūzistān Province was Tustar, already then commonly called Shustar, famous for the great weir across the Kārūn, which at the city gate divided the stream into three parts, called respectively the Canals of Dasht-Ābād, of Dū-Dānik, and of Chahār-Dānik (Two Sixths and Four Sixths). Ahwāz has already been noticed in my paper on Ibn Serapion (p. 311). The town of Turb (or Tūb according to some MSS.), on the sea-shore, I cannot identify, but apparently it occupied more or less the position of Bāsiyān, so frequently

mentioned by the earlier geographers. The ruins of Junday Shāpūr [**1**] exist at the village of Shāhābād, lying half-way between Dizfūl and Tustar; the town was famous for its sugar-canes, as also was Ḥawīzah [**2**], lying to the east of the lower Kārūn, which town, Mustawfi writes, was inhabited mainly by Sabæans. Dizfūl—'Bridge of the Diz river'—was anciently called Andāmish, from the name of the bridge of forty-two arches which here crossed the Diz river. This Bridge of Andāmish is mentioned by Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 259) and other earlier geographers whom Yāḳūt (i, 372) has quoted (see also Ibn Serapion, p. 312, and 'Alī of Yazd, i, 589); its remains still exist (De Bode, *Luristān*, ii, 163).

Daskarah (or Dastgīr) was on the 'Irāḳ border, according to Yāḳūt (ii, 575), and possessed a strong castle, but its exact position is difficult to fix. Rāmhurmuz [**3**], the name of which, says Mustawfi, was already corrupted to Rāmiz, lay near the frontier of Fārs; Sūs [**4**], 'the most ancient city of Khūzistān,' was famous for the tomb of the prophet Daniel, and its ruins stand near the Karkhah river some few miles south-south-west of Dizfūl (De Bode, ii, 186). For Sūs some of the MSS. give the spelling Sūsīn, but probably from the scribe having confused this Sūs with the town of a similar name in Luristān, already mentioned in Chapter 2. Ṭarāzak (or Ṭarārak, as given in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 284) cannot unfortunately be identified; it was famous for its excellent sugar-canes. 'Askar Mukram [**5**], the ruins of which are at Band-i-Ḳīr (see I.S. 312), Mustawfi reports was also known by the Persian name of Lashkar or 'Camp'; and somewhere higher up on the Masruḳān stream [**6**] was the town of this same name, the site of which has apparently disappeared from the modern maps.

Chapter 12. *Fārs.*

Contents: Shīrāz, 170*u*; Coasts of Abu Zuhayr and of 'Umārah, 171*w*; Būshkānāt, 171*y*; Tawwaj, 171*z*; Khabr, 172*a*; Khatīzīn, 172*b*; Khunayfghān, 172*c*; Ramzavān, Dādhīn, and Davān, 172*f*; Sarvistān and Kūbanjān, 172*g*; Sīrāf, Najīram, and Khūrshī, 172*h*; Ṣimkān and Hīrak, 172*k*; Fīrūzābād, 172*o*; Karzīn, Ḳīr, and Abzar, 172*w*; Kāriyān and Karān of Īrāhistān, 172*y*; Kavār, 173*b*; Lāghir and Kaharjān, 173*e*; Mandastān, 173*g*; Mīmand, 173*k*; Hūmū and Hamjān Kabrīn, 173*l*; Huzū and Tāṇah, 173*n*; Iṣṭakhr and its three Castles, 173*o*; Abraj, 174*f*; Abarḳūh, 174*g*; Farāghah, 174*m*; Isfandān and Ḳumistān, 174*o*; Iḳlīd and Uzjān, 174*p*; Surmaḳ, 174*q*; Bavvān and Marūst, 174*s*; Bayḍā, 174*t*; Ḥarīr, Abādah, and Sabzivār, 174*w*; Ḥafrak and Ḳālī, 174*x*; Khurramah, 174*y*; Rāmjird, 174*z*; Māyin, 175*a* and *j*; Ṣāhik and Harāt, 175*b*; Ḳuṭruh, Ḳumishah, and the Castle of Ḳūlinjān, 175*c*; Kāmfīrūz, 175*e*; Kirbāl, 175*f*; Kamīn and Kārin, 175*g*; Kallār and Kūrad, 175*h*; Yazdikhwāst, Dih Girdū, Shūristān, and Abādah, 175*l*; Dih Mūrd and Rādhān, 175*m*; Jahram and Khūrshah Castle, 175*o*; Juvaym of Abu Aḥmad and Samīrān Castle, 175*q*; Fasā, Shaḳḳ Rūdbār, and Mīshānān, 175*s*; Nashāvar, 175*x*; Kāzirūn, 176*a*; Shāpūr City, 176*h*; Anbūrān and Bāsht Ḳūṭā, 176*o*; Bilād Shāpūr, 176*q*; Tīr Murdān and Jūbkān, 176*r*; The Jīlūyah Mountains, 176*u*; Jirrah, 176*w*; Gumbadh Mallaghān and Pul-Būlū, 176*y*; Khisht and Kumārij, 177*a*; Khullār, 177*b*; Khumayjān and Dih 'Alī, 177*c*; Salḥat, 177*e*; Ṣarām and Bāzrank, 177*f*; Ghundījān, 177*h*; Nawbandajān and Ḳal'ah Safīd, 177*j*; Sha'b Bavvān, 177*n*; Ḳubād Khurrah and Arrajān, 177*t*; Bustānak, 177*y*; Rīshahr, 177*z*; Hindījān, Khabs, and Furzuk, 178*d*; Jannābā, 178*e*; Jallādjān and Hayvūdīn, 178*f*; Mahrūbān, 178*g*; Sīnīz, 178*l*. The Sixteen Castles of Fārs, namely: Ḳal'ah Isfandiyār, or Isfīd Diz, 178*p*; the Castles of Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis), 178*u*; the Castle of Iṣṭakhr Vār, 179*a*; Abādah, 179*b*; Diz Abraj or Iraj, 179*c*; Tīz or Tabar, 179*d*; Tīr-i-Khudā, 179*g*; Khūrshah, 179*h*; Khurramah, 179*l*; Khuwādān, 179*m*; Khuvār and Ramzavān, 179*n*; Sahārah, 179*o*; Samīrān, 179*p*; Kārzīn, 179*q*; and Gunbad-Mallaghān, 179*r*. The Pasture-lands called Marghzār,

namely: Āvard or Ūrd, 179*u*; Dasht Rūn, 179*w*; Dasht Arzan, 179*z*; Sīkān, 180*b*; Bahz or Bahmān, 180*c*; Bīd Mashkān, 180*d*; Bayḍā and Shīdān, 180*e*; Ḳālī, 180*h*; Kālān, 180*k*; Kāmfīrūz, 180*m*; Kamīn, 180*n*; and Narkis, 180*o*. The Islands of the Persian Gulf, namely, Kays, 180*r*; Abrūn, 181*d*; Abarkumān, 181*e*; and Khārik, 181*f*.

In the time of the Īl-Khān dynasty Fārs had come to be a much smaller province than it had been during the Caliphate, and as described by the Arab geographers. In the pages of Ḥamd-Allah Fārs has lost the whole of the Yazd district on the north-east, this under the Mongols being given to Persian 'Irāḳ; while the eastern districts round Dārābjird, having taken the name of Shabānkārah, had been formed into a separate province, which under this title will be noticed in the following chapter. A long and interesting account is given by Ḥamd-Allah of Shīrāz, the capital of the Fārs province since the Moslem conquest; the nine gates in its walls are enumerated, and its various mosques and shrines are described in some detail. Ḥamd-Allah notes further that the territory immediately adjacent to the city was called its Ḥūmah (often written *Jūmah* or *Jawmah*), a word that may be translated 'domain.' Two leagues distant from Shīrāz was the mountain called Kūh-i-Dārak, on which the winter snow was stored in pits for use in the hot weather (L. 203*y*); while three farsakhs to the south of Shīrāz was a castle known as Ḳal'ah-i-Tīz (other readings in the MSS. give Bīr, Tabr, Tīr, Tashīr, etc.), which crowned a solitary hill, on the summit of which was a spring of water (L. 179*d*). Also in the Shīrāz district was the Castle of Khuvār (L. 179*n*), and this place is mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 104) as a small town of the Ardashīr Khurrah district. Yāḳūt (i, 199; ii, 480), who copies the account, adds no particulars, and evidently cannot give more exactly the position. Shīrāz has no river, but its waters drain eastward to the salt lake of Māhalūyah (L. 226*c*), which is some twelve leagues in circuit, and lies in the plain a few miles from the city on the left hand of the road to Sarvistān.

The shores of the lake were used for salt-pans, and much salt was exported from Shīrāz to outlying places.

The sea-coast districts of Fārs, known as the A'māl-i-Sīf, were divided between the Sīf—'Coast'—of the Banī Zuhayr and the Sīf of 'Umārah. The positions of these districts are given by Iṣṭakhrī (pp. 140, 141) and by Yāḳūt (iii, 217), the former region lying near Sīrāf and the latter near the Kirmān border, over against the Island of Ḳays. The Būshkānāt district, according to the *Fārs Nāmah* (f. 86*a*), lay twelve leagues from Ghundijān towards Najīram. Tavvaj, often spelt Tawwaz [**1**], had been a celebrated commercial town in early days, but when Mustawfi wrote it was already in ruins. Apparently no traces of it now exist; it stood, however, near the lower course of the Shāpūr river, called the Tawwaj-Āb, and according to Iṣṭakhrī (pp. 128, 133) lay about half-way between Kāzirūn and Jannābah [**40**].

Khabr [**2**], somewhat over fifty miles south-east of Shīrāz, exists, and was famous for its castle, called Ḳal'ah Tīr-i-Khudā—'God's Arrow' (L. 179*g*). The region of Khatīzīn (which some MSS. give as Khayriz or Khatūhar) I am not able to identify; the districts of Ramzavān and Dādhīn lay south of Jirrah. Davān plain, according to the *Fārs Nāmah* (f. 73*b*), lay six leagues north of Māyin [**17**]. Khunayfghān [**3**], which was commonly called Khanāfgān, was to the north of Fīrūzābād at the sources of the Burāzah river. Sarvistān is near the eastern end of the Māhalūyah Lake; but Kūhjān (or Kūbanjān in the *Fārs Nāmah*) has apparently disappeared from the map. Of Sīrāf, the celebrated port on the Persian Gulf, the ruins still exist, and have been described by Captain Stiffe (J.R.G.S., 1895, p. 166), and according to Iṣṭakhrī (p. 34) Najīram lay to the northward of it, Khūrshī (or Khūrāshī) being of its dependencies.

Ṣimkān [**4**] lies to the east of Fīrūzābād (cf. Stack, *Six Months in Persia*, ii, 232), and Hīrak was a large village near by. Of Fīrūzābād, anciently called Jūr, the chief town of the district of the same name, Ḥamd-Allah gives a long account, mentioning also its castle (L. 179*o*), called Ḳal'ah Shahūrah, which crowned a height four leagues

from the city. The Fīrūzābād river was called the Āb-i-Burāzah[1] (L. 219*g*), a right bank affluent of the Āb-i-Zakān (L. 214*z*), which last is by far the most important stream in this part of Persia. The Zakān (or Zhakān; the MS. of the *Fārs Nāmah* always spells the name *Thakān*) is named by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 120) and other Arab geographers the Nahr Sakkān, and is the present Ḳārā Aghāch, which rises at some distance to the north-west of Shīrāz. It flows into the sea a little to the south of Najīram, and in its lower course is now known as the Mand river. The town of Kavār [**5**] is near its left bank (half-way between Shīrāz and Khabr already mentioned), and after passing Ṣimkān, not far from its right bank are the towns of Ḳīr, Kārzīn [**6**], and Abzar. Kāriyān [**7**] lies at some distance to the eastward of these places, and Lāghir [**8**] is mentioned by Mr. Stack (ii, 233), also by Mustawfi in his Itineraries (Route xxviii).

Kārzīn had a celebrated castle (L. 179*q*) on a hill overhanging the river bank. Kaharjān or Makarjān apparently lay near Lāghir, and about half-way between this last and Sīrāf, on the coast, was the town of Kūrān [**9**] in the Īrāhistān District, lying adjacent to the Zuhayr coast, mentioned in a previous paragraph and described by Iṣṭakhrī (pp. 106, 141, 454). The region of Māndistān was on the coast, and probably the name is connected with the present Mand river, as the lower part of the Ḳārā Aghāch (Āb-i-Zakān) is called. Mīmand [**10**] is the chief town of the Nāband district on the coast, to the east of Sīrāf, as mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 104), but I am unable to identify Hūmū or Hamjān Kabrīn; many MSS. give Harmūd and Hamjān Kīrtan, and the readings are more than doubtful. The port of Huzū was opposite the Island of Ḳays; this is the last stage in the Itinerary (Route xxviii) from Shīrāz to the coast; and Tānah (or Tābah) was a village near.

[1] This is the spelling of the *Fārs Nāmah* (f. 79*b*), who says it was so named after the great engineer Ḥakīm Burāzah of the days of King Ardashīr. The MSS. generally give the name as Barārah.

The city [**11**] of Iṣṭakhr (Persepolis) had been the capital of Fārs before the Moslem conquest. It lay on the banks of the Parvāb or Pulvār river (L. 218*r*), a left bank affluent of the Kur. In the neighbourhood of Persepolis was a cave in the mountain called Kūh-i-Nīsht (or Na'isht), where there were famous sculptures (L. 206*v*). Iṣṭakhr was celebrated for its three great castles, called the Sih-Gumbadhān—'Three Domes'—which crown the hill-tops to the north of the Marvdasht plain. These were known as the Ḳal'ah Iṣṭakhr, the Ḳal'ah Shikastah—'the Broken Castle'—and the Ḳal'ah Shankavān (L. 178*u*). Further there was the Ḳal'ah Iṣṭakhr Yār, or Bār, probably on the hill above Persepolis (L. 179*a*), where ruins still exist. The remains of the three castles on the hill-tops to the westward, which were famous for their great cisterns, have some of them been visited and described by Morier (*Second Journey in Persia*, pp. 83, 86) and De Bode (*Luristān*, i, 117). Abraj, as the name is spelt in the *Fārs Nāmah*, often incorrectly written Īraj, appears from Iṣṭakhrī (p. 102) to have been near Māyin [**17**], and it stood at the base of a hill, on which was a strong castle called Diz Abraj or Īraj (L. 179*c*). Abarḳūh[1] is the well-known town on the frontier of Fārs [**12**] towards Yazd; and near it was Farāghah (written Marāghah in some MSS., also in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 266), which was celebrated for its cypresses. Uzjān, or Ujān, lies north of Māyīn. Not, however, to be found on the map are Isfandān (or Isfīdān) and Ḳumistān (or Ḳuhistān), these being all copied into the *Jihān Numā* (p. 266), and near Ḳumiṣtān in

[1] According to Ḥamd-Allah (L. 174*g*) Abarḳūh was remarkable for the fact that no Jew could survive for more than forty days who settled here. Hence these people were not found among the population of the town. Further in Abarḳūh stood the tomb of the celebrated saint surnamed Ṭāūs-al-Ḥaramayn—'Peacock of the Two Sanctuaries,' viz. Mecca and Medina—and it was a known fact that his shrine would never suffer itself to be covered by a roof. However often a roof was erected over the tomb, it was invariably destroyed by a supernatural power, lest the saint's bones should become the object of an idolatrous worship. The same phenomenon is said by Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 113) to be characteristic of the shrine of Ibn Ḥanbal at Baghdad; and Professor Goldziher has some interesting remarks on this subject in his *Muhammedanische Studien* (i, 257).

the mountain there was a mighty cave. Iḳlīd [**13**] and Surmaḳ [**14**] lie to the south-west of Abarḳūh. Bavvān (with variants Tavān or Tūmān) and Marūst (possibly Marvdasht) were two villages in the great Persepolis plain, which itself bore the latter name; in the upper, western, part of the Marvdasht plain lay the city of Bayḍā [**15**], celebrated for its pasture-lands.

The town of Abādah stood on the northern side of Lake Bakhtigān, and there was a celebrated castle here (L. 179*b*). This town is frequently mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 131) and other Arab geographers; it was also known as the village of 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān. Ḥafrak is the district near the junction of the Pulvār river with the Kur, and Ḥarīr was near Lake Bakhtigān. Sabzivār and Ḳālī (or Fālī) appear to have been famous meadow-lands or Marghzār near the Pulvār river (L. 180*h*). Kharramah [**16**], also celebrated for its castle (L. 179*b*), is a town to the east of Shīrāz near the Bakhtigān Lake at the place where the river Kur flows in. Rāmjird is the district higher up the river Kur — above the plain of Marvdasht — and Māyin [**17**] is the capital town of Rāmjird.

These districts were all watered by the Kur, of which Mustawfi gives a long account (L. 216*a*). This river rose above Kallār [**22**], was joined on its right bank by a stream from Sha'b Bavvān, and lower down on the left bank near Persepolis by the Āb-i-Parvāb or Pulvār river (L. 218*r*). In its lower reaches the Kur river was crossed by a number of weirs, each serving to raise a head of water for irrigation purposes. The first dam or weir was that called the Band-i-Mujarrad, an ancient foundation, which was repaired under the Saljūḳs by their Atabeg, or Governor, in Fārs, the celebrated Fakhr-ad-Dawlah Chāūlī (spelt Jāūlī by Ibn-al-Athir, x, 202), who then gave it the name of Fakhristān. Below this was the 'Aḍudī or Band-i-Amir (*Bendemir* of the poet Moore, in *Lalla Rookh*), built by 'Aḍud-ad-Dawlah the Buyid, and marked in the Itineraries (Route xxxii); this served to raise the waters for irrigating the two districts of Upper and Lower Kirbāl. The lowest of the dams was the

Fuller's Weir—Band-i-Ḳaṣṣār—at no great distance above the point where the Kur flowed out to the Lake of Bakhtigān. This was the largest of the salt lakes of Fārs, and when Mustawfī wrote was surrounded by populous districts and towns, among which occur the names of Ḥarīr, Abādah, Khayrah, Nayrīz, and Ṣāhik (L. 225*y*). The north-western part of the lake was known as the Buḥayrah Bāsafhūyah (L. 226*e*), and it was celebrated for its fish. Ṣāhik (or Chāhik) and Harāt [**19**] lay at some distance from the eastern borders of the Bakhtigān Lake, and Ḳuṭruh [**20**] is to the south-east.

The most northern town of Fārs towards Isfahān is Ḳūmishah, protected by the Castle of Ḳūlanjān. The district of Kām Fīrūz lay on the banks of the Kur river (south of Rāmjird), being celebrated for its lion-haunted forests; and the two districts of Kirbāl, as already said, were on the lower reaches of the same river near the Fuller's Weir (Band-i-Ḳaṣṣār). Kamīn [**21**] lies north of Iṣṭakhr, near the Pulvār river, and Ḳārin was a town near it. Kallār and Kūrad [**22**] were on the upper waters of the Kur river, and their positions are fixed by Muḳaddasī (p. 458) in his Itinerary, being five farsakhs north of Kām-Fīrūz. Yazdikhwāst [**23**] and Dih Girdū [**24**] lie on the road to Isfahān, and in this connection Abādah [**25**] (which still exists, and is not to be confounded with the town of the same name on Lake Bakhtigān) is mentioned, lying to the east of Dih Girdū. Shūristān, according to the *Fārs Nāmah*, lay half-way between this northern Abādah and Yazdikhwāst, while Dih Mūrd—'Myrtle Village'—called by the Arab geographers Ḳariyat-al-Ās or Būdanjān, stood by the shore of Lake Bakhtigān, half-way between the southern Abādah and Ṣāhik. Rādhān, according to Iṣṭakhrī (p. 102), lay half-way between Ṣāhik and Shahr-i-Bābak.

In the south-eastern part of Fārs, the town of Jahram [**26**] is well known, and was famous in the time of Mustawfī for the strong castle, lying five leagues away on a hill-top, called Ḳal'ah Khūrashah (L. 179*h*). Juvaym [**27**] of

Abu Aḥmad[1] lies south-east of Jahram, and its castle too was famous, being known as the Ḳal'ah Samīrān or Shamīrān (L. 179*p*). The city of Fasā lies north of Jahram, on the border of Shabānkārah; Shaḳḳ Rūdbār and Mīshānān (or Pīshkānāt in some MSS.) were of its dependencies, and the castle called Ḳal'ah Khavādān (L. 179*m*) was a strong place in the neighbouring district.

Kāzirūn lies west of Shīrāz, on the road down to the sea. Mustawfi gives a long account of the place, which had originally consisted of three towns. In the plain to the east of Kāzirūn is the lake which Mustawfi calls the Buḥayrah Mawz, but the reading of the name is doubtful, both in the *Nuzhat* MSS. and in the text of Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 193), from whom, apparently, he has taken the name of the lake. The ruins of the old city of Shāpūr [**28**] are to be seen at some distance west of Kāzirūn, and have been described by De Bode (*Lūristān*, i, 214) and others. Shāpūr city appears originally to have been known as Bishāvūr (for Bih-Sābūr). Mustawfi gives a long account of the place, and further describes the colossal statue of King Shāpūr, which may still be seen in the neighbouring cave. Anbūrān was a small town near Nawbanjān [**29**], and Bāsht Ḳūṭā (some MSS. give Māsht Fūṭā) a district in the mountains near, the whole of this neighbourhood being known under the name of Bilād Shāpūr, or the Shāpūr Country. Tīr Murdān [**30**] was an important place mentioned by Yāḳūt (i, 905), and it lay, according to 'Alī of Yazd (i, 607), beyond the Valley of Bavvān and west of Karkān, which is mentioned in the Itinerary (Route xxxiii); the place called Jūbkān (or Khūbigān) and other districts were in its neighbourhood.

The mountain region called Jabal Jīlūyah was on the Luristān border, and the name is probably connected with

[1] So named to distinguish it from Juvaym [**35**], one stage to the north-west of Shīrāz (see Route xxxiii). This last is sometimes (incorrectly) written Juvay*n*; and in this case must not be confounded either with the city of Juvayn in Sīstān to the north of Zaranj (see Route xvii), or with the Juvayn District of Khurāsān (see Chapter 17) lying between Jājarm and Sabzivār.

the Kurdish Zamm, or tribe, of Jīlūyah mentioned by Iṣṭakhrī (pp. 98, 113). Mustawfī elsewhere (L. 206*g*) speaks of the mountains called Kūh Gīlūyah, and apparently a neighbouring range was the Kūh Kūshid lying between Fārs and 'Irāḳ, where of old had lived a dragon slain by King Kay Khusrū, who then built here the Fire-temple afterwards known as Dayr Kūshid (L. 206*o*). Probably of this district also was the mountain of Kūh Mūrjān (or Mūrkhān), in which was a cave, with dropping water, that was considered a talisman (L. 206*t*).

The Āb-i-Ratīn, which rose in the district of Khumāyijān, was an upper affluent of the Shāpūr or Bishāvūr river, the lower part of which was called the Āb-i-Tavvaj, where it passed the city of Tavvaj, or Tawwaz [**1**], before falling into the Persian Gulf (L. 219*a*, *f*). The Shāpūr river, up in the mountains, was joined on its left bank by the Āb-i-Jirrah, which, flowing down from the Māṣaram and Ghundijān districts, passes the city of Jirrah [**31**], which is some miles south-east of Kāzirūn. Before its junction with the Shāpūr river, the Jirrah river received from the south the combined waters of the Āb-i-Jarshīḳ and the Ikhshīn river, this last being famous for its stone bridge called the Ḳanṭarah Sabuk (L. 219*b*, *d*).

Gumbadh Mallaghān [**32**] lay about half-way between Nawbanjān and Arrajān, at the place now called Dū Gumbadān, where there are extensive ruins (De Bode, i, 258). It was famous for its castle, in the district of Pūl Būlū, which "was so strong a Ḳal'ah that a single man could hold it" (L. 179*r*). Khisht [**33**] and Kumārij [**34**] lie on the road down from Shīrāz to the coast, and not far from the banks of the Shāpūr river. Khullār [**35**], celebrated for its mill-stones, lies about half-way between Nawbanjān and Shīrāz; Khumāyijān, with Dīh 'Alī, being a district to the westward of Khullār. To the north, on the Lur frontier, came the districts of Sīṣhat (or Salḥat in some MSS.), also Bāzrank and Ṣarām, which last Yāḳūt (ii, 45) gives as Charām. Ghundijān, generally called Dasht Bārīn, was the region in the neighbourhood of Jirrah [**31**], and here stood the

castle called Ḳal'ah Dam Darān, or Ram Varān, for the name is variously given in the manuscripts (L. 179*n*).

Nawbanjān [**29**], more commonly called Nawbandagān, had been rebuilt by Atabeg Chāūlī; it was renowned for the great White Castle, and for the neighbouring valley called Sha'b Bavvān, always counted as one of the four earthly paradises, such was its fertility and beauty. Isfīd Diz, 'the White Castle,' also called Ḳal'ah Isfandiyār (L. 178*p*), after one of the heroes of ancient Persia, lies two leagues distant to the north-east of Nawbanjān, and occupies the summit of a table-mountain; it is accessible by one road only, being on all sides protected by precipices (Macdonald Kinneir, *Persian Empire*, p. 73). At the foot of the mountain fastness was a second smaller castle called Nishnāk (Nishkunān in some MSS.). Half a century after the time of Mustawfi, Ḳal'ah Safīd (as it was more generally called) became famous for the siege and sack which it suffered at the hands of Timur, as recorded by 'Alī of Yazd in the *Ẓafar Nāmah* (i, 600).

The Kūrah or district of Ḳubād Khurrah was one of the ancient divisions of Fārs, and according to Iṣṭakhrī (p. 125) it was that of which Kārzīn [**6**] was the capital, already mentioned, near the Zakān river, on the eastern border. Arrajān was the chief town of Fārs on the western side, towards Khūzistān. It is now a complete ruin, being replaced by Bihbahān, which appears to have been founded in the latter half of the fourteenth century A.D., after the time of Mustawfi, but prior to the date when Timur invaded Persia. In the account of his campaigns given in the *Ẓafar Nāmah* (i, 600), the city of Bihbahān only is mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd, though its river is called by him the Āb-i-Arghūn, that is to say, the Arrajān river, as confirmed by the statement of both Yāḳūt (i, 193) and Mustawfi, who write that Arrajān in their day was generally called Arraghān or Arghān. Its ruins lie not far from the bank of the (older) Ṭāb river, now known as the Jarrāhī (see above, Chapter 11), which separates Fārs from Khūzistān. At the crossing of the river was the celebrated bridge called

Pūl-i-Takān, which is described by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 134). The ruins of this bridge still exist, also those of a second bridge likewise described by the Arab geographers, and fully noticed in the travels of De Bode (*Lūristān*, i, 297), who, it may be remarked, was the first to identify Arrajān.

According to Ḥamd-Allah there were various castles of the Ismailian sect, known as the Assassins, in the hills above Arrajān. Such were Ḳal'ah Ṭayfūr and Diz Kalāt, this last being one league distant from the town of Rīshahr [**36**], otherwise called Rīṣhīr, which lay to the west of Arrajān. Būstānak [**37**] was the last stage in Fārs on the Khūzistān frontier, as given in the Itinerary (Route xxxiii). Hindijān exists, Ḥabs (also given as Jīs or Khabs) and Furzuk were near Arrajān, but the spelling of these names is not sure, and their exact position is uncertain. Jannābā [**40**], also called Ganbah, was a celebrated port on the Gulf, the ruins of which still exist; it was originally named Gandāb, or 'the back-water,' by the Persians. The river called the Āb-i-Shīrīn, which rose in the hills called Kūh-i-Dīnār, flowed out to the sea near Mahrubān and is the modern Ṭāb or Zuhrah river. Near Jannābā was the mouth of the Sītadkān or Shādhkān river, which flowed down from the Bāzrank hills (this district has been mentioned above) and the region of Kaharkān (L. 218*v*, *w*). According to Mustawfi, Jallādjān and Hayvūdīn (many MSS. give Hūdvīn) were districts near Arrajān; Mahrubān [**38**] was the port on the Gulf at the frontier of Khūzistān, Sīnīz [**39**] being the next port down the coast, eastward, and on the other side of the bay opposite Mahrubān.

The river Khwāndān, or Khūbdhān (L. 218*z*), was an affluent of the Nahr Shīrīn, which flows out to the sea near Mahrubān (the modern river Ṭāb, see above, Chapter 11). It rose in the Khūbdhān or Khwāndān hills near Nawbanjān [**29**], and in its lower course watered the district of Jallādjān already mentioned. There is, however, much confusion in the nomenclature of all these rivers of western Fārs; and this goes back to the descriptions of them given by Iṣṭakhrī and other of the Arab geographers, whose notices do not

tally with the streams as shown on our present maps. This is especially the case with the river called the Āb-i-Darkhīd (or Darkhuvayd), which flowed out of (some MSS. give it as flowing *into*) the Darkhīd Lake (L. 218*y*, 226*d*), which lay to the west of Nawbanjān. It was a large river and not easily fordable, but what stream it corresponds to on our modern maps is not very clear, though it may be that now known as the Āb-i-Shūr.

In regard to the celebrated castles of Fārs Ḥamd-Allah states that these had numbered over seventy in ancient times, but that most had gone to ruin with the lapse of time, and sixteen only in his day remained standing. All these have been mentioned in previous pages, when speaking of the various towns or districts to which each belonged, and it is needless to recapitulate them here, the list having been given in the table of contents to this chapter.

Ḥamd-Allah next enumerates the various Marghzārs, the celebrated pastures or meadow-lands of Fārs. That of Āvard (or Urd) was on the road between Isfahān and Shīrāz, near Kushk-i-Zard, two stages south of Yazdikhwāst (see Route xxvii); and the Marghzār of Dasht-i-Rūn (or Ravān) was one stage south of this again, near the Rubāṭ, or Caravanserai, of Salāḥ-ad-Dīn, whence it extended to the Shahriyār Bridge over the upper course of the Kur river. The Marghzār of Dasht Arzin lay near the lake of that name (L. 226*a*) on the road between Shīrāz and Kāzirūn; it was noted for the lions who haunted its thickets, and the same remark is added to the notice of the Marghzār of Shikān (Ushkān, Arashkān are other readings of the name) in the district of Juvaym of Abu Aḥmad; in the neighbourhood of which also was the Marghzār of Bahmān. The Marghzār of Bīd and Mashkān appears to have been near Tustar in Khūzistān; that of Bayḍā was near the town of that name in the Marvdasht plain. No position is given for the Marghzār of Shīdān close to which was 'the Lake of the Marghzār' (L. 226*e*), but this meadow-land was famous as being one of the four earthly paradises. The Meadows of Ḳālī (or Fālī or Fūl) were on the banks

of the Pulvār river, where also lay the Marghzār Kālān near the grave of the Mother of King Solomon, as the Moslems have named the Tomb of Cyrus; while further down the Pulvār river were the Kamīn meadow-lands. The Marghzār of Kām Fīrūz lay along the Kur river, where its thickets were haunted by lions; and lastly, the Marghzār-i-Narkis—'the Narcissus-Meadows'—were between Kāzirūn and Jirrah.

The Persian Gulf and its Islands are described by Mustawfi at the end of his chapter on Fārs, and also at a later page (L. 222*z*) when describing the Seas; further, he gives the distances between the chief islands in his Itinerary (Routes iv and xxviii). Some confusion, however, exists in the names given during the middle ages to the various islands. The Island of Khārik still bears this name, and lies some forty miles north-west of the modern Bushire. On the road to India, and eighty leagues further down the Gulf, came the Island of Alān (otherwise Lān or Allār), which by the distances must be the present Island of Shaykh Shu'ayb. According to Mustawfi and other geographers, between this and Ḳays came the two islands called Abrūn and Khayn, and the former is probably that now known as the Hindarabi Island.

The great emporium (Dawlat-Khānah) of Ḳays, as described by Mustawfi, was the most populous island of the Gulf, and lay four leagues from Huzū on the mainland, where the road coming down from Shīrāz reached the coast. From Ḳays the ships sailed for India, and at the narrows of the Gulf came the great island called Abrūkamānān (Abarkumān in some MSS. or Abarkāfān, with many other variants). Yāḳūt (iv, 342) calls this Lāft, or the Island of the Bani Kawān, and its name was spelt in a variety of different ways: but, undoubtedly, what is now known as the Long Island of Kishm (Jazīrah Ṭawīlah) is the place indicated. To the east of this came Hurmuz, which will be mentioned in Chapter 14 on Kirmān; and the *island* of Hurmuz was called Jirūn where the city of New Hurmuz came to be founded. A neighbouring island,

however, appears already from the earliest times to have borne the name of Urmūṣ or Urmūz, recalling the name of Hurmuz. It is mentioned by Ḥamd-Allah (L. 222*z*) and many of the earlier Arab geographers, as, for instance, Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 62), but what island this Urmūṣ now corresponds to is not very clear. The island of Jāsik may, from what Yāḳūt (i, 503) writes, be another name for the great Island of Kishm, and therefore a duplicate name. Besides Jāsik (or Khāsik) Mustawfi mentions (L. 222*z*) the islands of Kand, Anāshāk, and Lāhur (in the MSS. given as Lādur or Lāwur, and possibly identical with Lān or Lār already given), but these I am unable satisfactorily to identify.

Chapter 13. *Shabānkārah.*

Contents: Avīg, 181*k*; Darkān, 181*m*; Iṣṭahbanān, 181*n*; Burk, Tārum, Khayrah, Nīrīz, and Mīshkānāt, 181*p*; Dārābgird, 181*r*; Kurm and Rūbanz, 181*w*; Lār, 181*x*.

What became the province of Shabānkārah under the Mongols, had formed the eastern part of Fārs in the time of the Caliphate, as already stated in the previous chapter. The name Shabānkārah does not occur in the earlier geographers, but the district came in Mongol days to be called after the people who inhabited it, the Shabānkārah being a powerful family settled in these regions during the period of the Saljūḳ supremacy. They waged successful war against the Saljūḳ Atabegs — against the Amīr Chāūlī, mentioned in the previous chapter, in particular; and finally after the fall of the Saljūḳs these Shabānkārah were left masters of the whole western part of Fārs.

Nearly all the towns named by Ḥamd-Allah as of Shabānkārah may still be recognized on the present map. The capital of the district was Īg, or Avīg, a strong fortress, with the town of Darkān [**1**], or Zarkān, situated at no great distance from it, both places still existing, and further,

being mentioned by the earlier authorities. Iṣṭahbānān [**2**], which the Arab geographers write variously as Iṣṭabanāt, Iṣbahānat, and Iṣbahbadhāt, is now called Savanāt, lying a short distance north-west of Īg; Nīrīz [**3**] lies to the east of it, and Khayrah [**4**] between Savanāt and the shore of Lake Bakhtigān (see Route xxxi), which, in its south-eastern bay, forms the northern frontier of the Shabānkārah district, and is often called the Lake of Nīrīz. Burk represents the town the name of which is now generally pronounced Forg, and which the Arab geographers wrote Furj. There is, however, the evidence of Muḳaddasī (p. 428) that of old there were here two neighbouring towns, called Furj and Burk, and the latter site is now probably represented by the Castle of Bahram, described by Mr. Stack (*Six Months*, i, 156). Tārum [**5**] lies on the frontier to the east of Forg; the Mīshkānāt (or Māskinān) district being on the road between Khayrah and Nīrīz.

Dārābgird had been the chief town of eastern Fārs in earlier days; there was near this in the hills a famous pass, called Tang-i-Zīnah, commanded by a strong castle. The mountains of Dārābgird (L. 204*f*) were celebrated for the salt, of seven diverse colours, that was dug out of the mines here, and in the southern part of the country was the mountain called Kūh-i-Rastaḳ, "three leagues in height, like a snow-covered dome," where great serpents abounded (L. 204*g*). The towns of Kurm [**6**] and Rūbanz (generally spelt Rūnīz, in error, in the MSS.) lay on the road towards Fasā; the first still exists, and Rūbanz or Rūbanj was the chief town of the Khasū district mentioned by Muḳaddasī (p. 423), the town of Khasū, now to be found on the map, being identical in all probability with the older Rūbanj city. Lār, which is not mentioned by the older Arab geographers, appears to have been a foundation of the Shabānkārah. Mustawfi speaks of it merely as a district (*Vilāyat*), but his contemporary, Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 240), speaks of "the great city of Lār," celebrated for its five markets, and Ḥamd-Allah adds in his account that the people of Lār were mostly merchants who occupied themselves with sea voyages.

Chapter 14. *Kirmān.*

Contents: Guwāshīr or Bardasīr, 182*e*; Bam, 182*f*; Jīruft, 182*l*; Khabīṣ, 182*n*; Rīghān, 182*o*; Sirjān, 182*p*; Shahr-i-Bābak, 182*q*; Narmāshīr, 182*r*; Old and New Hurmuz, 182*t*.

The mediæval Guwāshīr or Bardasīr, as has been shown in a previous paper (J.R.A.S. for April, 1901, p. 284), represents the present city of Kirmān. Mustawfi quotes (in Arabic) an anecdote having reference to the first Moslem conquest of Kirmān, when its inhospitable climate was reported on to Ḥajjāj, the Viceroy of 'Irāḳ, by the Arab commander. The text is, of course, most unintelligibly transcribed in the Bombay lithographed edition and in most of the MSS.; it will be found, however, given in full by Mas'ūdi in his *Meadows of Gold* (v, 341). Among other matters Mustawfi speaks of the Old Mosque in Guwāshīr, dating from the time of the Omayyad Caliph Omar II; he also refers to the celebrated garden called the Bāgh-i-Sirjānī laid out by the Amīr 'Alī Iliyās, who had removed the capital of the province from Sīrjān to Guwāshīr, and who also built the great Castle of the Hill. Further, within the city was also the mosque known as the Jāmi'-i-Tabrīzī, founded by Tūrān Shah the Saljūḳ, this being that used for the Friday Prayer when Mustawfi wrote.

The town of Bam is on the eastern borders of Kirmān; Jīruft, of which the ruins exist at the present Shahr-i-Ḍaḳyānus (see J.R.G.S., 1855, p. 47), lying some distance to the south-west of it, being built on the river called the Dīv-rūd—'Demon-stream'—from its violent course (L. 219*e*), the stream now known as the Khalīl-rūd. Khabīṣ lies east of Kirmān city near the desert border, and Rīghān or Rīkān is south-east of Bam. Sīrjān, as I have shown in my paper above referred to, must probably be sought for at the ruins near Farīdūn. Sīrjān had been the older capital of the Kirmān province, but in the time of Mustawfi, though merely a provincial town, Sīrjān was still an important place

with a strong castle, and it only fell to ruin after the days of Timur. Shahr-i-Bābak still exists, in the north-western angle of the Kirmān province; while Narmāshīr stands on the desert border on the other side, south-east, towards Makrān.[1]

On the south coast of Kirmān lay the port of Hurmuz on the mainland (at the site now marked Minao on the map), but this place, as Mustawfi records, had already been abandoned in his day. The King of Hurmuz, Fakhr-ad-Dīn—or Ḳuṭb-ad-Dīn, as some MSS. give the name, following in this Ibn Baṭūṭah (ii, 230)—had migrated with his people on account of the attacks of brigands, and had established his capital for greater safety on the Island of Jirūn, one league distant from the shore (the present Ormuz Island).[2] This transfer of the capital would appear to have taken place in the year 715 (A.D. 1315), though nearly a century later, in the time of Timur, Old Hurmuz, according to 'Alī of Yazd (*Ẓafar Nāmah*, i, 789, 809), was still an important city. There were mountains in Kirmān (L. 206*h*) where, says Mustawfi, a stone capable of being burnt for firewood existed (doubtless lignite), and this was used for fuel in those parts. To the north-east of Hurmuz on the Balūch frontier were the mountains called the Kūh-i-Ḳafṣ, which are frequently mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers; also in Kirmān was the range named Kūh-i-Ḳārin, which are the mountains more properly called Jabal Bāriz by the older geographers, but which Yāḳūt (iv, 148) had already misnamed, being doubtless the authority used by Mustawfi (L. 205*x*, 206*e*, and cf. Iṣṭakhrī, p. 163, note *d*).

[1] The Bombay Lithograph gives Māshīz for Narmāshīr, but the latter reading is that of all the best MSS. and agrees with the statement that it was a town founded by Ardashīr Bābagān, for Māshīz is a modern place.

[2] The history of Hurmuz is obscure; the best account of its rulers that I have met with will be found in the *Majma'-al-Ansāb*, an historical work written about the year 743 (A.D. 1343). Of this work our Society possessed a MS., and another copy (Add. MS. 16,696) will be found in the British Museum Library. Dates are unfortunately very generally omitted in the *Majma'-al-Ansāb*, but it gives an account of the Kings of Hurmuz, as also of the Atabeg Chāūlī and others, who ruled in Fārs before the advent of the Sunḳūrī Atabegs, hence it is a valuable authority. For the present state of Hurmuz see the papers by Captain Stiffe in the *Geographical Magazine* for 1874, vol. i, p. 12, and the J.R.G.S., 1894, p. 160.

Chapter 15. *The Desert.*

Contents: Jarmaḳ, 183*b*; Sanīj and the two cities of Ṭabas, 183*c*; Kuhbinān, 183*d*; Nih, 183*e*.

The great salt desert of central Īrān, which is now generally known as the Kavīr (a name of uncertain etymology), is always referred to by Mustawfi by its Arabic name, Mafāzah, meaning 'the wilderness.' He describes it as extending from the village of Sūmghān — which the Mughāls called Āḳ Khwājah, lying a little south of Ḳazvīn — right across Persia in a south-easterly direction, and reaching nearly down to the sea of 'Omān at Hurmuz. The south-western limit of the desert was marked by the towns of Sāvah, Ḳum, Kāshān, Zavārah, Nāyin, Yazd, and thence along the Kirmān and Makrān border to the mountains above the coast. The north-eastern limit of the desert went by Ray along the borders of Ḳūmis and part of Khurāsān, then by Ḳūhistan and Zāvil down to Sīstān, and thence to the neighbourhood of Hurmuz.

In the middle of the Great Desert, half-way across on the road going from Nīshāpūr to Isfahān, lay the three villages of Jarmaḳ in an oasis where there were water springs. This oasis, the position of which is fixed by the Arab Itineraries, was visited in 1875 by Colonel Macgregor (*Khurāsān*, i, 91); its chief village is now called Khur, and the district is Bīyābānak—'Little waterless place'—by which name it was already known in the seventeenth century, being mentioned by Tavernier in his Travels (*Voyages*, i, 769; La Haye, 1718). The position of Sanīj is also fixed by the Arab Itineraries; it was on the Kirmān frontier, half-way between Narmāshīr and Zaranj. While there is no doubt about the position, there is some about the name, which in many MSS. of the Arab geographers may be read Safīd or Isfand in place of Sanīj (cf. Iṣṭakhrī, p. 228, note *r*), and the MSS. of the *Nuzhat* confirm the doubtful reading.

Ṭabas, on the Sīstān border, will be mentioned in the following chapter; Kuhbinān (the Cobinan of Marco Polo) is on the Kirmān side, and has been visited by Mr. Stack (*Six Months in Persia*, i, 231). Lastly, of the towns mentioned Nih is in Sīstān, as marked on the map. On the extreme north-western border of the Great Desert, not far from the high road going down from Ray to Ḳum, lay the mountains called Kūh-i-Kargas—'the Vulture Hills'—and according to Mustawfi (L. 206*e*) their recesses were the chosen home of the Ibex (*Wa'il*). The Vulture Hills are doubtless the present Siyāh-Kuh—'the Black Hills'—overlooking the Kavīr, some distance to the east of Ḳum.

Chapter 16. *Sijistān or Nimrūz, and Ḳuhistān.*

Contents: Zaranj, 183*g*; Turshīz, 183*m*; Kishmar, 183*o*; Tūn, 183*s*; Bajistān and Junābad, 183*x*; Dasht-Biyāḍ and Fāris, 184*b*; Birjand, 184*c*; Khūsf, 184*e*; Sākhis or Shakhīn, 184*f*; Zīrkūh, 184*g*; Ṭabas Masīnān, 184*h*; Ṭabas Kīlakī, 184*m*; Ḳāyin, 184*p*; Kal'ah Darah, 184*u*; Mumīnābād, 184*v*; Zāvil, 184*w*; Fīrūzkūh, 184*x*; Ghaznayn, 184*y*; Ṭarmīshah, 185*b*; Maymanah, 185*c*; Karnayn, 185*d*.

Sīstān, by the Arabs written Sijistān, was of old called Nīmrūz, meaning 'Midday,' a name said to have been given to the province in regard to its position south of Khurāsān. Ḳuhistān—'the Mountain-land'—was the north-western part of this country, and in older times it was more often included in the Khurāsān government.

Zaranj, the capital, also known as Sīstān city, was a great place in the middle ages. It was completely destroyed by Timur half a century after the time of Mustawfi, and the extensive ruins of the old town, the name of Zaranj having long since been forgotten, lie some miles to the north-east of Nāṣirābād (or Naṣratābād), the modern capital of Sīstān, near the hamlets of Pishāvarān and Nād 'Alī. The city of Zaranj lay along the bank of the Siyāh-rūd—'the Black Canal'—a branch from the Helmund river. The

Āb-i-Hirmand, as Mustawfī spells the name (L. 216*s*), rises in the mountains of Ghūr, and after passing the fortress of Bust curves round northward to the city of Zaranj, flowing out finally into the Zirrah Lake from the eastward by many mouths and canals. From the north the Zirrah Lake received the water of the Āb-i-Farah, the river which passed the town of Farah, and which like the Helmund also rose in the mountains of Ghūr, in what is now north-western Afghanistān (L. 216*t*, 226*p*).

Turshīz was the chief city of the Ḳuhistān province, and near it was the village of Kishmar,[1] famous for the great cypress-trees planted by Zoroaster, as related by Firdūsī in the *Shāh Nāmah* (Turner-Macan, iv, 1067). Near Turshīz were four famous castles called Ḳal'ah Bardārūd, Ḳal'ah Mīkāl (or Haykāl), Mujāhidābād, and Ātishgāh ('the Fire-temple'). No town called Turshīz exists, but a district now bears this name, and from the Itineraries given by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 284) and others Turshīz, anciently called Ṭurthīth, or Ṭuraythīth, lay one day's march westward of Kundur. Hence the ruins of the city are probably those seen at Fīrūzābād, near the village of 'Abdulābād; and in any case Turshīz cannot be Sulṭānābād, the modern capital of the Turshīz district, for this lies *east* of Kundur.

Tūn is still one of the chief towns of Ḳuhistān, and according to Mustawfī was originally laid out on a Chinese plan, whatever that may signify. Bajistān [**1**], of which Yāḳūt (i, 497) also speaks, lies due north of Tūn; it is to be noted, however, that in the *Jahān Numā* (p. 326) and many of the *Nuzhat* MSS. this name is given as Tanjah, but probably in error. Junābād [**2**], generally called Gunābād, and which the Arab geographers write Yunābidh, lies north-east of Tūn; it was famous for its two castles, called Ḳal'ah Khwāshir and Darjān (or Darkhān). In the neighbourhood were the mountains called Kūh-i-Gunābād and Kūh-i-Zībad, which are said to be mentioned by Firdūsī (L. 206*n*). The district of Dasht-i-Biyāḍ lies south of Gunābād and

[1] In Ḳazvīnī (ii, 299) printed *Kishm* by mistake: but right in Yāḳūt (iv, 278).

east of Tūn; its chief town was Fāris [3], now generally called Ḳal'ah Kuhnah, or 'the Old Castle.' Birjand [4] lies at some distance to the south-east of Tūn, and to the west of Birjand is Khūsf [5], a name which the Arab geographers write Khawst; the position of Sākhis (Shāḥīn, Sāḥin, and Shakhīn are manuscript variants) appears to be unknown. Zīrkūh—'the Foot-hills'—is the name of a district marked on the map as lying to the eastward of Ḳāyin; Mustawfi states that it had three towns, namely, Isfadan [6], Istind [7], and Shārakhs [8], all of which may still be found on the map.

During the middle ages there were two cities called Ṭabas, namely, Ṭabas Kīlakī [9], which in the Arab geographers is given as Ṭabas-at-Tamr—'Ṭabas of the Date'—and Ṭabas Masīnān [10], formerly known as Ṭabas-al-'Unnāb—'Ṭabas of the Jujube-tree.' From the distances given in the Arab Itineraries it would appear that Ṭabas Kīlakī (or Gīlakī) is the place still marked in our maps as Ṭabas, which lies on the desert border, and this agrees with what is said of the limits of the Mafāzah, or Great Desert, in the previous chapter. The position of Ṭabas Masīnān cannot be exactly fixed, but the evidence of Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 335) and the other Itineraries would place it about half-way between Tūn and the other (the present) Ṭabas, which last is often named Ṭabasayn. The city of Ḳāyin lies east of Tūn, and was noted as the central point of Ḳuhistān; the Castle of Darah [11] is south-east of Birjand, and Muminābād is the name of the mountainous district to the east of Birjand.

In regard to Zāvil, Mustawfi gives this as the name of a town with its surrounding district, and in the previous chapter he has mentioned Zāvil as lying on the north-western border of the great desert. The name does not occur in Yāḳūt or any of the earlier Arab geographers, but Monsieur B. de Meynard, in a note to his *Dictionnaire de la Perse* (p. 35), quoting the author of the *Mubārik Shāhī*, states that Zāvil was a district near Asfuzār (Sabzivār of Herat), and that it was watered by eighty streams on which stood water-mills. Fīrūzkūh—'Turquoise Mountain'—is

probably the ancient capital of Ghūr, which will be noticed in the next chapter, the exact position of which, in what is now north-western Afghanistān, is unknown. Ghaznayn, otherwise Ghaznah, needs no comment, but I am unable to identify the place written Ṭarmīshah (Ṭar'īt, Ṭarmast, etc., are variants given in the MSS.); possibly it is merely a mistake for, and duplicate of, Tursḥīz. Maymanah, which the Arab geographers called Yahūdīyah — 'Jew-town' — lies east of Bālā Murghāb, in the north-west of modern Afghanistān; and the city of Ḳarnayn, celebrated as the birthplace of Layth, the founder of the Ṣaffarids, lies in the desert one march to the north of Khāsh on the river Helmund, according to the distances given by Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 306).

Chapter 17. *Khurāsān.*

Contents: Nīshāpūr, 185*m*; Shādyākh, 185*u*; Isfarāyin, 186*g*; Bayhaḳ and Sabzivār, 186*l*; Biyār, 186*n*; Juwayn, 186*o*; Jājarm, 186*r*; Khabūshān, 186*u*; Shaḳḳān, 186*w*; Ṭūs, 186*x*; Kalāt and Jirm, 187*e*; Marīnān, 187*f*; Herāt, 187*h*; Asfuzār, 187*s*; Fūshanj, 187*t*; Mālān and Bākharz, 187*x*; Bādghīs, 187*z*; Jām, 188*e*; Chast, 188*g*; Khwāf, 188*j*; Zāwah, 188*m*; Ghūr, Balkh, Ṭukhāristān, Bāmiyān, and Panjhīr, 188*o*; Jūzjān, 188*t*; Khutlān, 188*u*; Saminjān, 188*w*; Ṭāyiḳān, 188*x*; Ṭāliḳān, 189*a*; Fāryāb and Ḳavādiyān, 189*b*; Kālif, 189*d*; Marv Shāhījān, 189*f*; Shaburḳān, 189*q* and 190*b*; Abīvard, 189*s*; Khavārān, 189*t*; Khāvardān, 189*u*; Sarakhs, 189*z*; Marv-ar-Rūd, 190*b*; Māraz, 190*e*; Ḳal'ah Māy, 190*f*.

Khurāsān in the middle ages was far more extensive than is the province of this name in modern Persia. Mediæval Khurāsān extended on the north-east to the Oxus, and included all the districts round Herat which now belong to Afghanistān. On the other hand, the small province of Ḳūmis, on the northern boundary of the Great Desert, which at the present day is included within the limits of Persian Khurāsān, was of old a separate district, and formed in the time of Mustawfi a province apart.

Ḥamd-Allah divides Khurāsān into four quarters (*Rub'*)

or districts; namely, Nīshāpūr, Herāt, Balkh, and Great Marv. Of Nīshāpūr city he gives a full account, describing its plan, which had originally been laid out after the fashion of a chess-board, and noting its walls and watercourses. The Arabs had written the name Naysābūr. Mustawfi devotes a paragraph to the great suburb of Shādyākh, which Yāḳūt (iii, 228) from his personal knowledge has also described. This had been built, or rebuilt, after the great earthquake of the year 605 (A.D. 1208) which had laid Nīshāpūr in ruins; but both suburb and city were again destroyed by the earthquake of 679 (A.D. 1280), and a third city of Nīshāpūr was the capital of Khurāsān when Mustawfi wrote. In regard to Shādyākh its ruins still exist some three miles to the east of the modern city (Yate, *Khurāsān*, p. 412).

Nīshāpūr had its chief water supply from a stream that flowed down from the mountains to the north-east of the town; and forty water-mills were turned by the stream in the two leagues of its course through the plain after leaving the hills. Five leagues distant from the city, on the water-shed of the range dividing Nīshāpūr from the Mashhad valley, was a small lake, about one league round, called Buḥayrah Chashmah Sabz—'the Lake of the Green Spring'—recently visited and described by Colonel Yate (*Khurāsān*, p. 353), from which Mustawfi reports that water flowed either way, east and west. Here the Amir Chūpān had built a kiosk on the brink of the spring, of which many wonders are told, and spectres were seen rising from the waters at certain seasons; further, the lake was said to be unfathomable (L. 226*l*). A great number of streams flowed down from this mountain range to the plain of Nīshāpūr, chief among these being the Shūrah-rūd or Salt River, into which at flood times most of the lesser streams ultimately drained, coming from the various sides of the plain. Mustawfi (in part copied by the *Jihān Numā*, p. 328) mentions the names of a great number of these, to wit, the Dizbād river, flowing to the village of this name on the Herāt road, the Āb-i-Saḥr (or Sakhtar), the Khayrūd or Āb-i-Kharū, the

Tūsanḳān or Tūshḳān-rūd, the Āb-i-Pusht-i-Farūsh, the Khajank river, the Āb-i-Farkhak, the Āb-i-Dahr, and the Āb-i-'Aṭshābād — 'Thirst River' — coming down by the Maydān-i-Sulṭān, but of which the water-supply so often failed as fully to deserve its evil name (L. 219*q* to 220*b*).

The town of Isfarāyin [**1**] in the centre of the plain of this name, at the ruins known as Shahr-i-Bilkis, recently described by Colonel Yate (*Khurāsān*, p. 378), was celebrated for its castle called Diz-Zar, 'the Golden fort.' Bayhaḳ was the capital of the great district of the same name lying south of Isfarāyin, and its ruins lie close to Sabzivār [**2**], which is the present chief town of this district. Biyār [**3**] lies on the border of the Great Desert, and is marked as Biyār-Jumand on our maps. Juwayn is the name of the plain south and west of Isfarāyin (see Route x): its chief town is Fariyūmad, and Mustawfī mentions the hamlets of Baḥrābād, Dāv, Kazrī, and Khudāshah [**4**]. The city of Jājarm is at the western limit of the Juwayn plain on the river Jaghān-rūd (L. 220*e*); in its neighbourhood is the mountain known as Kūh-i-Shaḳāḳ (Saḳān, Sitān, etc., are other readings of the MSS.), whence a stream flowed forth from a marvellous cave (L. 205*m*).

Khabūshān, now known as Kuchān, is in the Mashhad valley to the east of Juwayn; the city had been rebuilt by Hūlāgū, and the surrounding district was known as that of Ustuwā. The town of Shaḳḳān (or Shafān) I am unable to identify. Ṭūs, one of the ancient capitals of Khurāsān, is now a complete ruin; it lies four leagues distance to the north-west of the shrines at Mashhad [**5**], which last is the modern capital of Khurāsān and means 'the Place of Martyrdom,' originally called the village of Sanābād. There lie buried at Mashhad the Imām Riẓā and the Caliph Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, with many other famous personages, their tombs being surrounded by what in the time of Mustawfī had already come to be a large city. In the mountain called Kūh Gulshān near Ṭūs was a great cavern with a spring welling from its depths, of which many wonders are related (L. 206*m*, and see Yate, *Khurāsān*, p. 351). The

great mountain fastness of Kilāt,[1] with Jirm for its chief city, lies to the north of Mashhad, and is now generally known as Kilāt-i-Nādirī, from the fact of Nādir Shāh having stored his Indian treasure here. This is one of the earliest notices of Kilāt, for it is not mentioned by the earlier Arab geographers, but it became famous in later times, notably after its siege by Timur, as described by 'Alī of Yazd in his *Ẓafar Nāmah* (i, 323). In 1875 it was visited and described by Colonel Macgregor (*Khurāsān*, ii, 51). The town of Marīnān (the MSS. give Marsān, Hafarmiyān, and many other variants) was within the limits of Kilāt.

Herāt was watered by the canals of the river Harī-rūd. It had a famous castle called Shamīram, built over the ruins of an ancient Fire-temple, on a mountain two leagues distant from the city, and Mustawfi adds a long account of the town, its markets and its shrines, giving the names of the various city canals derived from the Harī-rūd (L. 216*p*). The river of Herāt rose in the mountains of Ghūr; after passing Herāt it watered the Fūshanj district, and thence flowed north to join the Sarakhs river (the modern Tejend-āb). Asfuzār, now generally called Sabzivār of Afghanistān, is a town at some distance to the south of Herāt, and is mentioned in the Itineraries (Route xvii, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, p. 305). Fūshanj [**6**], or Būshanj according to the same authorities, must be identical with the present city of Ghūriyān lying west of Herāt near the Harī-rūd; and under the name Fūshanj it sustained a siege by Timur, as described in the *Ẓafar Nāmah* (i, 312), but I have been unable to discover when its present name of Ghūriyān first came into use.[2] According to Mustawfi, Kusūy, or Kusri [**7**] and

[1] *Kilāt*, which has come to be the name of more than one important fortress-town of western Asia, is a word that apparently came into use at the close of the middle ages, and is presumably a Persianized form of the Arabic *Ḳal'ah* (spelt with dotted *ḳ*), meaning 'a castle.' It is worth noting that the name Kilāt does not occur in Yāḳūt or, I believe, in any of the earlier Arab geographers.

[2] The name Fūshanj, or Būshanj, has apparently gone completely out of use; on the other hand, I can find no mention of this Ghūriyān in any Eastern author. Yāḳūt (iii, 821, 824) mentions Ghūraj, which he says is commonly pronounced Ghūrah, and is a village near the gate of the city of Herāt; and there was the village of Ghūriyān near Marv. Neither of these, however, can

Kharkird [**8**], the former given in the Itinerary of Ibn Rustah (p. 172) and the latter by Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 334), were the chief towns of its district.

Mālān [**9**], apparently the town now called Shahr-i-Naw, judging by the distances in the Arab Itineraries, was the chief town of the Bākharz district, which lay further to the north along the left bank of the Harī-rūd, and the district of Bādghīs lies some distance to the eastward, away from the right bank of the Harī-rūd, being due north of Herāt. Mustawfi mentions Kārīzah, where Hakīm Barḳa'ī had lived who founded the city of Nakhshab in Transoxiana, also as its chief town Gūnābād (or Kūh Ghanābād) [**10**]; and he names various other places both here and in the Itinerary (Route xviii) which cannot now be identified (viz., Buzurgtarīn, Lab, Jād, Ukāīrūn, Kālūn, and Dihistān), for the whole region of Bādghīs has now relapsed to the desert, though numerous ruined sites are to be met with near the river beds. The town of Jām [**11**], famous for its shrine, was by the Arab geographers known as Buzjān, later Pūchkān, and is marked on our maps. Chast (cf. Ibn Baṭūṭah, iii, 457) would appear to have been a town near Herāt, but its exact position is unknown, and the spelling of the name is uncertain. Khwāf [**12**], with its district, lies to the south of Bākharz, and Mustawfi gives its chief towns as Salām [**13**], Sanjān [**14**], and Zūzan [**15**], all of which will be found on the map, in the present Khwāf district. Zāvah is, as we learn from Ibn Baṭūṭah (iii, 79), the town now known as Turbat-i-Ḥaydari, so called from the saint buried there, and Zāvah was the name of the surrounding region, also known as Bīshak.

The great districts lying to the north-east of Khurāsān (in what is now Afghanistān) are only very briefly referred to by Mustawfi. Ghūr, the mountainous country lying between the head-waters of the Herāt river and the Helmund, has already been referred to in the previous chapter when

be the modern town of Ghūriyān, the name of which recalls the province of Ghūr, where the Ghūrid Sultans held sway in the latter half of the twelfth century A.D.

speaking of Fīrūzkūh.[1] Balkh is mentioned as being in ruins, and Bāmiyān was in a like condition, Changhīz Khān having ordered its utter destruction to avenge the death of a grandson who was killed during the siege, at the time of the Mongol invasion. Ṭukhāristān is the country along the southern bank of the upper waters of the Oxus, and Panjhīr is the name of the silver-mine at the eastern source of the Kābul river. Jūzjān is the district westward of Balkh, of which Shaburḳān and Fāryāb were the chief towns. The first-mentioned still exists, and the position of Fāryāb, which is described by Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 321) and Yāḳūt (iii, 840, 888), is fixed by the information given in the Itinerary (Route xii). Khutlān is the country lying north of the upper waters of the Oxus, Saminjān lay south-east of Balkh, and Ṭāyiḳān is the place which still exists of this name in the extreme east of the province of Ṭukhāristān, being sometimes, in error, written Ṭāliḳān. The name Ṭāliḳān, however, is more properly given to the city of the Jūzjān district, the name of which has now disappeared from the map, but which, according to the Itinerary (Routes xii and xii*a*), lay three marches distant from Marv-ar-Rūd (Bālā Murghāb) and a little off the high road going from that city to Balkh. This Ṭāliḳān is described by Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 321), Ya'ḳūbī (p. 287), and Yāḳūt (iii, 491); it was an important town, and its ruins are probably to be identified with the mounds of brick near Chachaktu, which have been recently examined by Colonel Yate.[2]

[1] In this passage, in place of Ghūr, many MSS. of the *Nuzhat* read Gharj, and some have Gharjistān. The name of this region has nothing to do with Georgia, or Gurjistān, to the north of Armenia, described by Mustawfī in Chapter 6; for Gharjistān took its name from the ancient kings of northern Afghanistān, called by the Arabs Gharj-ash-Shār. According to Yāḳūt (iii, 785, 786, 823) Gharjistān, often confounded with Ghūristān, and spelt indifferently Gharshistān or Gharistān, was the country along the upper waters of the Murghāb, to the eastward of Marv-ar-rūd. Its limits were Ghūr on the one side and Herāt on the other, with Ghaznah to the south-east. The sites of the many towns in Ghūr and Gharjistān, mentioned by the Arab geographers, are completely unknown.

[2] See *Northern Afghanistan*, by C. E. Yate (1888), p. 157. The Chachaktu ruins are forty-five miles as the crow flies from Bālā Murghāb, which last, I consider, undoubtedly represents Marv-ar-Rūd, and this distance may be counted as the equivalent of three days' march in the hill country. Ḳal'ah

Ḳavādiyān still exists to the north-east of Tirmid, which last is on the Oxus, and Kālif is lower down the great river, also on its right bank. Mustawfi gives a long account of Marv-i-Shāhijān, or Great Marv, on the Murghāb river. This river, as he says (L. 214*u*), had originally been called the Marv-āb or Marv river, but was in his days generally known as the Āb-i-Razīḳ. The *Jihān Numā* (p. 328) has Zarbaḳ, and the MSS. give Āb-i-Rūbaḳ or Zarīḳ, as in Yāḳūt (ii, 777), with other variants. It flowed down to Great Marv from Marv-ar-Rūd, or Little Marv, which is now represented by the place called Bālā Murghāb, as stated in a previous note. Abīvard [**16**] still exists, on the desert border north of Kalāt-i-Nādirī. Khavārān [**17**], now Khabarān, and Khavārdān, its dependency, lie between Kalāt-i-Nādirī and Sarakhs, which last stands on the lower reach of the Herāt river after it has received on its left bank the stream coming down from Ṭūs and Mashhad. Lastly, Māraz (Yādaz and Yāzar, with other readings, are given in the MSS.) appears to be unknown, and the same remark applies to Ḳal'ah Māy, of which the MSS. also give many diverse readings (Bāy, Nāṛ, etc.).

As stated at the beginning of the chapter, the province of Khurāsān in the middle ages extended as far north and east as the bank of the Oxus, which was held to divide the lands of Īrān from Tūrān; and when Mustawfi wrote there appears good evidence for the belief that the Oxus was pouring

Walī and Takht-i-Khātūn, one or other of which is put forward by Colonel Yate (op. cit., pp. 194–6 and 211) as a possible site for Ṭāliḳān, being each of them only some twenty-seven miles distant from Bālā Murghāb, are both of them too near to suit the case. As regards the site of the city of Fāryāb, this may well have been at the modern Khayrābād, where there is an ancient fort and mounds with ruins, as described by Colonel Yate (op. cit., Map of the North-West Frontier of Afghanistan, and p. 233), who narrates some local legends of past times that have clustered round this site. The name of this Fāryāb of Jūzjān is also spelt Firyāb by Yāḳūt (iii, 888), and it must not be confounded either with Fārāb, otherwise written Bārāb (now called Otrār), on the Jaxartes, or with Firabr, sometimes written Firab, on the Oxus, at the ferry of Chārjūy. It will be noticed also that there were during the Middle Ages three Ṭāliḳāns, viz., Ṭāliḳān, or Ṭāyiḳān, the town of Ṭukhāristān which still exists; next, Ṭāliḳān of Jūzjān aforesaid; lastly, the Ṭāliḳān *district* in Persian 'Irāḳ, to the south-west of Ḳazvīn, which has been noticed in Chapter 2.

its waters into the Caspian Sea, and not, except for an insignificant part, into the Aral, as is now the case.[1]

In Appendix IV Mustawfi gives a description of the Jayḥūn or Amūyah (L. 213*l*, with which compare the Turkish translation in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 360), as the Arabs and Persians named the Oxus. The river had two sources, one in Tibet, the other in the Badakhshān mountains; and along its upper course five great streams flowed in before it took up the waters of the Wakhshāb (L. 220*d*) in the district of Ṣaghāniyan, where stood Tirmid over against Balkh. Flowing on through the desert, the Oxus next came to the Narrows, mentioned also in the Itinerary (Route xix), known as Tang-i-Dahān-i-Shīr—'the passage of the Lion's Mouth'—near Bukshah, of the district of Hazārasp, where the precipitous banks are hardly a hundred *gez* (yards) across. This is the gorge which is now known as Deveh Boyun—'the Camel's Neck'—and according to Mustawfi the stream here passes underground for a couple of leagues completely hidden from sight. From Hazārasp down to the Aral Sea numerous canals are led off, some ending in the desert, some discharging their water into the Aral; but the main stream, Mustawfi says, after passing Old Urganj, turns down by the 'Aḳabah-i-Ḥalam (or Salam), which in Turki is called Kurlādī (or Kurlāvah), where the rushing of its waters can be heard two leagues away, and, thence flowing on for a distance of six days' march, ultimately finds its exit in the Caspian Sea (Baḥr Khazar) at Khalkhāl, a fishing station.

When describing the Caspian (L. 225*d*), Mustawfi speaks of the Island of Ābaskūn, and he says "this island is now

[1] Professor de Goeje has written a most learned and interesting work on this subject (*Das alte Bett des Oxus*, Leyden, 1875), in which he seeks to discredit the statements of the Persian geographers, and in conclusion gives it as his opinion that the Oxus during all the middle ages (as at the present time) flowed into the Aral. I shall not presume to enter the lists against Professor de Goeje; I only quote in the following passages the authorities on the other side. But I may mention that Sir Henry Rawlinson, who had studied the question as a practical geographer, and knew as well the writings of the Persian and Arab authors, was always of a contrary opinion, holding that from the earlier years of the thirteenth century A.D. down to about the year 1575 the Oxus had continued to have its chief outflow into the Caspian, *not* into the Aral.

sunk under the water, because the Oxus, which formerly had flowed into the Eastern Lake (the Aral) lying over against the lands of Gog and Magog, since the time of the Mughāl invasion has changed its course, and now flows out to the Caspian; and hence, this latter sea having no outlet, the dry land (of the Ābaskūn island) has now become submerged by the rising level of the waters." Now, in regard to this alleged change in the Oxus bed at the epoch of the Mongol invasion, we have the contemporary evidence of Ibn-al-Athīr (xii, 257) that Changhīz Khān in 617 (A.D. 1220) sent his armies against Khwārizm, when, after a siege of five months, Old Urganj was stormed, and the Oxus dykes which protected the city having been cut, the whole country was laid under water. The overflow appears to have drained off to the south-west, following a line of depression to the Caspian; for there is the evidence of Yāḳūt (iv, 670), a contemporary of these events, who describes Manḳishlāgh as a strongly fortified castle "standing on the shore of the Sea of Ṭabaristān (i.e. the Caspian), into which the Jayḥūn now flows."

In the work of Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, composed in 820 (1417 A.D.) under the patronage of Shāhrūkh, the son and successor of Timur — and Ḥāfiẓ Abrū must himself have been well acquainted with the geography of these countries from personal knowledge—we find the statement that the Jayḥūn, "which of old flowed into the Lake of Khwārizm (the Aral), having made itself a new bed, now flows out to the Baḥr-Khazar (the Caspian) at Kurlāvud or Kurlāvū, otherwise called Aḳranchah, by which cause the Aral Sea has come to disappear" (British Museum Manuscript, Or. 1,577, *folio* 32*b*). And again, in the paragraph on the Aral Sea in the same MS. (*folio* 27*b*), he says that, while formerly the Jayḥūn had flowed into the Aral, "now, namely in the year 820, this sea no more exists, for the Jayḥūn has made a new bed to itself, and flows out into the Caspian."

Finally, to complete the evidence on the double shifting of the Oxus bed, we have the account by Abu-l-Ghāzī, a native prince of the Urganj region, who states that some

thirty years before A.H. 1014, the date of his birth, which places the change in about A.D. 1575, the Oxus made itself again a new channel, and turning off at Ḳarā-Uighūr-Tūḳāy below Khāst-Minārahsī, made its way to Tūk Ḳal'ahsī and thence out directly to the Aral Sea, thus changing the lands between Urganj and the Caspian into a desert for lack of water. And in another passage he describes how in former times, namely, among the events of the years from 1520 to 1530 A.D., all the way from Urganj, by Pīshgāh and Ḳarā Kīchit, to Uighūrchah and Abūlkhān on the Caspian, there were cultivated fields and vineyards along what was still, when he wrote, the but half dessicated bed of the Oxus. (French translation by Baron Desmaisons of the *History of the Mongols and the Tartars* by Abu-l-Ghāzī Khān, vol. i, pp. 221 and 312, and Text in vol. ii, pp. 207 and 291, St. Petersburg, 1871.)

In regard to Khwārizm, now generally called Khīvah, which is the Delta land of the Oxus, it will be found that among the Itineraries Mustawfi gives two (Routes xiv and xix) leading across the desert to Urganj, one from Farāvah (Ḳizil Arvāt), the other from Great Marv. Khwārizm was at no time counted as of Īrān, but, as noticed in the Table of Contents of the *Nuzhat*, a short section is devoted to this Province in Part IV of the Third Book, treating of Foreign Lands, which may be summarized in the following concluding paragraph. Unfortunately, the names of towns as given in the MSS. and in the Lithographed text (L. 234*g*) are extremely corrupt, and, indeed, do not serve to clear up the many queries in regard to the names of stages in the two Routes which lead to Urganj.

Ḥamd-Allah begins by stating that at the time when he wrote the capital city of the country was Urganj, which, however, was then more generally known as Khwārizm (properly the name of the whole province). Formerly, he adds, the capital city was Fīl, but the government was shifted first to Manṣūrah and then to Urganj. The city of Kāth had in former times (he says) been known as Jurjānīyah (this, however, is undoubtedly a mistake), and

he then names a number of the more important towns, among which are Hazārasp, Darghān, and Madmīnīyah, with many others whose names it is impossible to identify, finally Khīvah, a small provincial town (or *Ḳaṣbah*) which had recently been the abode of the Shaykh Najm-ad-Dīn Kubrī. We thus learn that already in the fourteenth century A.D. Khīvah was rising to importance; it is merely mentioned in the list of towns by the earlier Arab geographers, but Yāḳūt, writing a century before the time of Ḥamd-Allah, has devoted a short article to it (ii, 512), spelling the name Khīvaḳ, adding that the common people of Khwārizm then already called it Khīvah. Under the spelling Khīvaḳ the town and its governor are mentioned by 'Alī of Yazd, and this was the scene of one of the early adventures in the life of Timur, who at a later period caused its walls to be carefully rebuilt (*Ẓafar Nāmah*, i, 62, 449).

Chapter 18. *Māzandarān.*

Contents: Jurjān city, 190*h*; Astarābād, 190*p*; Āmul, 190*q*; Dihistān, 190*t*; Rustamdār, 190*u*; Rūghad, 190*v*; Sārī, 190*x*; Kabūd Jāmah, 190*y*; Nīm-Murdān, 190*z*.

The mountainous region lying along the south coast of the Caspian, towards the east, was called Ṭabaristān in the early middle ages, *Ṭabar* having the signification of 'mountain' in the local dialect, whence Ṭabaristān would have had the meaning of 'the Mountain Country.' This name, however, about the time of the Mongol conquest, gave place to that of Māzandarān; the new province being taken to include Jurjān on the east, which formerly had been reckoned as a separate district and not included in the older Ṭabaristān. Māzandarān is divided by Mustawfi into seven districts, namely, Jurjān, Mūrustāḳ (with variants Murdistān, etc.; the *Jihān Numā*, p. 339, has Bard-Mūrustāḳ), Astarābād, Āmul with Rustamdār, Dihistān, Rūghad, and Siyāh Rastān (other variants of this last in the MSS. being Wastān, Sitān,

Sāristān, and in the *Jihān Numā*, Sāstān). Of these seven, the positions of three, namely, of Mūrustāḳ, of Rūghad, and of Siyāh Rastān, are entirely unknown, and these names are not apparently mentioned by any other geographer.

In his Appendix on the Rivers Mustawfi notes that the district of Jurjān was watered by two rivers, namely, by the lower part of the Āb-i-Atrak (L. 212*a*), which had its springs near Khabūshān and in the famous plain of Nisā (now Darrah-Gaz) of Khurāsān; and next by the Jurjān river (L. 213*a*), on which stood the city of Jurjān; both the Jurjān river and the Atrak flowing out to the Caspian within the Jurjān territory. Jurjān City in the time of Mustawfi was a ruin, Astarābād being the capital of the district. Dihistān lay on the northern frontier; the ruins of it are probably those now known as Mashhad-i-Miṣriyān, and it was the outpost against the Turks and Kurds on the road to Khwārizm.

Āmul has always been the capital of Ṭabaristān, and Rustamdār is the district already noticed in Chapter 2 as lying along the bank of the Shāhrūd which as Rūdbār was counted as of Persian 'Irāḳ. According to the *Nuzhat* Rūghad (Rū'ad in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 341) was a medium-sized town, being also the name of the surrounding district; the site is unknown, but it lay presumably in Ṭabaristān, among the mountains overlooking the Caspian. The city of Sārī is still a flourishing place, and its district was that which Mustawfi names Kabūd Jāmah, while Nīm-Murdān (neither name being mentioned by the Arab geographers, though both are copied into the *Jihān Numā*, p. 341) was a populous island or peninsula, with Shahrābād for chief town, at the south-eastern angle of the Caspian, presumably now represented by the tongue of land forming the northern limit of Astarābād Bay. As of Ṭabaristān, Mustawfi mentions the mountains called Kūh Ṭāriḳ and Kūh Haram, or Hajam (L. 205*r*, 207*a*), where marvellous caves and wondrous sights were to be seen, but the position of neither mountain is given, and these names do not appear on our present maps.

Chapter 19. *Ḳūmis.*

Contents: Khuvār, 191*d*; Dāmghān, 191*e*; Samnān, 191*h*; Busṭām and Āhūvān, 191*j*; Girdkūh, 191*l*; Fīrūzkūh, 191*m*; Damāvand, 191*n*; Firrim, 191*p*; Khurḳān, 191*r*.

Ḳūmis was the name of the province lying along the desert border south of the great mountains of Ṭabaristān; most of the towns mentioned by Mustawfi still are found, but now included in Khurāsān, for as a separate province Ḳūmis no longer exists, and the name even is gone out of use. In the vicinity of Dāmghān was a mountain called Kūh-i-Zar—'Gold Mountain'—where mines of the precious metal were worked (L. 204*q*), and Dāmghān itself is still an important city. Khuvār [**1**] is the town now called Aradūn, but the district round is known under the old name, and Khuvār or Aradūn, called Khuvār of Ray or Maḥallah-i-Bāgh, is on the great eastern high road from Ray into Khurāsān (see Route ix). Samnān [**2**] stands half-way between Khuvār and Dāmghān, Busṭām (Bisṭām or Basṭām) lying further to the eastward of this last, while Āhūvān [**3**] is a Rubāṭ or Guardhouse between Dāmghān and Samnān.

The fortress of Girdkūh [**4**], called also Diz-i-Gumbadhān—'the Domed Fort'—lay in the mountains three leagues distant from Dāmghān, and Manṣūrābād was in its vicinity. The celebrated stronghold of Fīrūzkūh [**5**] stands at the head-waters of the stream flowing down to Khuvār; due west of it lies the town of Damāvand [**6**], which Mustawfi says was originally called Pashyān, the town lying a considerable distance to the south of the famous Damāvand mountain of Ṭabaristān. The position of Firrim, mentioned also by Yāḳūt (iii, 890) and other Arab geographers, has not been identified. Khurḳān was a town of the district of Busṭām, lying four leagues distant therefrom, on the road towards Astarābād, as is mentioned by Yāḳūt (ii, 424) and Ḳazvīnī (ii, 243).

Chapter 20. *Gīlān.*

Contents: Iṣfahbad, 191*v*; Tūlim, 191*x*; Tamījān, 191*y*; Rasht, 191*z*; Shaft, 192*a*; Fūmin, 192*b*; Kūjasfahān, 192*c*; Kawtam, 192*d*; Karjuyān, 192*e*; Lāhijān, 192*f*; Ta'sar, 192*h*.

Gīlān, or the Jīlānāt Province, was backed by the mountains of Daylam, and lay on the shore of the Caspian at the mouth of the river Safīd-rūd. Iṣfahbad, or Ispahbid, as is well known, was the name given to the semi-independent governors of this province under the Sassanian kings, and the Ispahbids continued to rule as princes under the early Caliphs; the city of Ispahbudān is mentioned by Yāḳūt (i, 298) as lying two miles from the sea-shore, but apparently no trace of it now remains. In the time of Mustawfi, however, Iṣfahbad was a medium-sized town surrounded by a district with nearly a hundred villages, and its revenues amounted to 29,000 dīnārs, or about £7,000. Tūlim is now the name of a district lying west of Rasht, the town of Tūlim [**1**] having presumably gone to ruin, both this and the town of Tamījān (or Taymjān) having disappeared from the map. Mustawfi is one of the first authorities to mention Rasht,[1] now the chief town of Gīlān, and it was already in his day famous for its silk stuffs.

The town of Shaft [**2**] no longer exists, but the district of this name lies south of Rasht, and to the westward of it is the Fūmin [**3**] district, with the town of Fūmin as its chief place. Of Kūjasfahān (Kujastān is the spelling given in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 344, with Kujḳān, Kūjfahān, and other

[1] In the *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum* (vols. iii, 52, 53, and ix, 282), a series of copper coins is described, bearing the numbers 107, 107*a*, 107*b*, 108, which are dated 595 A.H. and 598 A.H., and attributed to the mint-city of Rasht. These coins bear the name and titles of Sulaymān II, the Saljūḳ Sulṭān of Rūm, and if the reading *Rasht* be accepted, would go to prove that the Saljūḳs of Rūm exercised sovereign rights in Gīlān, and that Rasht was already an important city at the close of the sixth century A.H. The reading, however, does not appear, on examination of the coins, to be tenable; and the facts as known to us from history are decidedly against Rasht having ever belonged to Sulaymān II of Rūm.

readings in the MSS.), originally built by Ardashīr Bābgān and named Sahmish, nothing is now known; and the same has to be said of the town of Karjuyān, given also as Kirjān or Kaḥyān in the MSS., but not named elsewhere. Kawtam [**4**], on the sea-shore, a good port near the mouth of the Safīd-rūd, though mentioned by Yāḳūt (iv, 316), is apparently now lost, being represented by the modern Kūhdam district lying eastward of Shaft. Lāhijān [**5**] still exists, and by Mustawfi is held to be the capital of Gīlān, being famous for its fruit gardens; but for Ta'sar, the last place mentioned in the list (with variants in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 344, of Bishīshāh, also Nīsar, Nīr, and Tastar in the MSS.), I am unable to offer any identification.

APPENDIX I. The Itineraries.

For convenience of reference the Itineraries given consecutively by Mustawfi are in the following pages divided up into thirty-three Routes. Many of these are identical with the routes given by Ibn Khurdādbih and Ḳudāmah in their Road-books, and are found in other of the mediæval Arab geographers. Some of the routes not given by the Arabs are found copied from Mustawfi into the pages of the *Jihān Numā* of Ḥājjī Khalfah. The distances are given in Farsakhs, each equivalent to a league, or one hour's march.

Route I. — Sulṭānīyah to Hamadān and Kanguvār (L. 192*w*).— Sulṭānīyah 5 farsakhs to Bajshīr village, thence 4 to the Ribāṭ of Atabeg Muḥammad ibn Ildagiz, thence 4 to Karkahar village in the Hamadān province, thence 6 to Ṣājī village of Hamadān, thence 5 to Walaj village, thence 6 to the city of Hamadān, thence by the pass over mount Arvand (Elvend) in 7 farsakhs to Asadābād, and thence 6 to Kanguvār, the first village in Kurdistān.

As far as Hamadān these stages are not given in any of the Arab Itineraries — Sulṭānīyah, as already said, only having been built and made the capital of the Īlkhāns in the reign of Uljaytū—and most of the names of places mentioned in the list are uncertain.[1] Thus, Dīh Bajshīr is given in the various MSS. as Lajshīr, Valāshjird, and Dīh Bakshih (*Dīh* being the Persian for 'village,' omitted or added, indifferently), and this may be Bijtayn, a village at the right distance south of Sulṭānīyah; the various readings given above would then be due merely to confusion in the placing of diacritical points. For Dīh Karkahar some MSS. have Karkaharand, possibly for the present Kabatrung.

[1] Much of this country is described in *Notes of a Journey from Kazveen to Hamadan*, by J. D. Rees (Madras, 1885), but the names given by Mustawfi do not occur.

Variants of Ṣājī are Ṣāḥibī, Masāh-jīn, and Ṣājū. Muḥammad ibn Ildagiz, the founder of the Ribāṭ mentioned above, was Atabeg of Adharbayjān and virtual ruler of 'Irāḳ from 568 to 581 (1172 to 1185). The word *Ribāṭ* (pronounced also *Rubāṭ* and *Rabāṭ*), which occurs frequently in the names of post-stations, means literally 'a tying-up place' and came to signify a hospice, or guardhouse, notably on the frontier.

Route II.—Kanguvār to Ḥulwān (L. 192*s*).—Kanguvār in 5 farsakhs to Ṣihnah village, thence 4 to Jamjamāl City, thence in 6 farsakhs—the statue of the horse Shabdīz lying to the right of the road, with the portraits of King Khusraw and Queen Shīrīn at a place where two springs gush out that turn two mills—to Kirmānshāhān, thence 6 to Khushkarīsh, thence 5 to Jākāvān, thence 6 to the villages of Kirind and Khūshān, thence by the Pass of Ṭāḳ-i-Kizā in 8 farsakhs to Ḥulwān city, the first place in Arabian 'Irāḳ; but by the Gīl wa Gīlān road this last stage is easier, though one farsakh longer.

The stages from Hamadān going south-west, but given the reverse way, are part of the great eastern high road leading from Baghdād to Marv, found in all the Arab Itineraries. Khushkarīsh is the reading in Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 19); the *Nuzhat* MSS. give various readings, as Ḥakārmish, Chakārish, etc., and no place of this name now exists. The next place, Jākāvān, is not identical with any stage mentioned by the Arab Itineraries, and many variants are given, e.g., Dīh Ḥisākavān, Khafārkān, Ḥafākadān, Janākān, and Khiyārkavān. No village of Khūshān (or Ḥarshān as a variant) is to be found on the map anywhere near Kirind; but the road down by Gīl wa Gīlān, and the Ṭāḳ-i-Kizā pass, are mentioned (L. 216*n*) as the place where one of the affluents of the Nahrawān takes its rise (see above, Chapter 1).

Route III.—Ḥulwān to Baghdād and Najaf (L. 193*c*).—Ḥulwān in 5 farsakhs to Ḳaṣr Shīrīn, thence 5 to Khāniḳīn city, thence 5 to Rubāṭ Jalūlā built by Malik-Shāh the Saljūḳ, thence 5

to Hārūnīyah, thence — with Shahrabān lying 2 farsakhs distant to the right of the road—in 7 farsakhs to Ba'ḳūbā city, and thence 8 to Baghdād. From Baghdād it is 2 farsakhs to Ṣarṣar village, thence 7 to Farāshah, thence in 7 farsakhs—the city of Bābil lying on the Euphrates half a league away on the right hand—to the Nīl Canal, then 2 farsakhs to the city of Ḥillah, thence—passing the place where Nimrod threw Abraham into the Fire at Kūthā Rabbā, lying one league to the left of the road—after 7 farsakhs comes the city of Kūfah, thence 2 farsakhs distant lies the Mashhad (Place of Martyrdom) of 'Alī, the Commander of the Faithful, at Najaf on the desert border.

Most of the places mentioned in this and the next two Routes are given on my Map for Ibn Serapion. The Rubāṭ (Guardhouse) of Jalūlā, a place famous in Abbasid history, is probably the present Caravanserai of Ḳizil Rubāṭ. Dih Farāshah, nine leagues south of Baghdād, is not given by any other authority; other variants in the MSS. are Ḳarājah, Khawāshah, and Bādiyah-Farrash—'the Carpet-spreader's plain'—but the readings are most uncertain. The text of the *Nuzhat* after this gives the Routes beyond Najaf for the pilgrims crossing Arabia to Mecca and Medina, but these are here omitted, as belonging to countries outside the limits of Īrān, with which alone the present paper deals.

Route IV.—Baghdād to Baṣrah, and thence by sea to the Island of Ḳays (L. 195*g*). — Baghdād 5 farsakhs to Madāin, thence 10 to Dayr-al-'Āḳūl, thence 7 to Jabbul, thence 10 to Famaṣ-Ṣilḥ, thence 9 to Wāsiṭ, thence 10 to Nahrabān, thence 8 to Fārūth, thence 5 to Dayr-al-'Ummāl, thence 7 to Ḥawānīt; thence passing by the canal called the Shaṭṭ-al-Mā to the Swamps, and on through the Nahr-al-Asad, after 30 farsakhs is the beginning of the Blind Tigris estuary, by which and the Nahr Ma'ḳil after 10 farsakhs is Baṣrah. From Baṣrah it is 12 farsakhs to 'Abbādān, whence 2 by fresh water to the open sea, thence 50 leagues to Khārik Island, thence 80 leagues to Al-Ān Island, thence 7 to Abrūn Island, thence 8 to the island of Chīn or Khayn, which is uninhabited, and thence 8 to the emporium of Ḳays Island.

The towns on this and the next two Routes will be found on the Ibn Serapion Map. For the islands in the Persian Gulf, see above, Chapter 12; a part of this Route is given in the *Jihān Numā*, p. 456.

Route V.—Baghdād to Raḥbah (L. 195*v*).—Baghdād 3 farsakhs to Tall-'Aḳarkūf, which is a hillock so high that it can be seen from the desert eleven leagues away; thence 8 farsakhs to the city of Anbār; thence by the way across the Samawāt desert you may reach Damascus direct in ten days, it being 100 leagues distant; or from Anbār you go to Raḥbah (on the Euphrates), which last is 70 leagues from Baghdād.

Route VI.—Baghdād to Mosul (L. 195*x*).—Baghdād 4 farsakhs to Baradān, thence 5 to 'Ukbarah, thence 3 to Bāḥamshā, thence 7 to Ḳādisīyah, thence 3 to Sāmarrah, thence 2 to Karkh, thence 7 to Jabultā, thence 5 to Sudaḳānīyah, thence 5 to Bārimmā, thence 5 to the Bridge over the Lesser Zāb, a tributary of the Tigris, thence 12 to Ḥadīthah, thence 7 to Banī Ṭām'ān, and finally 14 farsakhs to Mawṣil (Mosul).

The name of the place called Bāḥamshā or Bājamshā by Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 93), a dozen leagues north of Baghdād, is uncertain; the *Nuzhat* MSS. give the name variously as Jamī'ā, Ḥamsāsah, and Ḥamyā, with other variations. Banī Ṭam'ān, the last stage before Mosul, is also uncertain; variants are Banī Ṭahān in the MSS., and in Ibn Khurdādbih (p. 93) Ṭamyān, Ṭahmān, etc., are given.

Route VII.—Kanguvār to Isfahān (L. 195*q*).—Kanguvār 5 farsakhs to Bīdastān, thence 3 to Nihāvand city, thence 4 to Farāmurz village, thence 4 to the city of Burūjird. Beyond Burūjird the road to Sābūrkhwāst turns off to the right hand, while going left from Burūjird it is 4 farsakhs to Ḥasanābād, thence 8 to Miyān-Rūdān, thence 3 to Minār, thence 5 to the city of Karaj. From Karaj it is 4 farsakhs to Dūnsūn, thence 5 to Āsan: here the more direct road to Isfahān turns off to the right, while going left from Āsan it is 6 farsakhs to Sangān, thence 6 to Jūy-Murgh-Kuhtar, thence 7 to Ashḳurān, thence 7 to Tīrān, thence 6 to Jūy-i-Kushk, and finally 4 leagues to Isfahān.

The road going eastward from Kanguvār to Isfahān, in the Arab Itineraries, follows a different route to the one given by Mustawfi, though both pass by Karaj of Abu Dulaf, the position of which has been noticed in Chapter 2. The MSS. give a few variants; the name of the village of Farāmurz beyond Nihāvand is written Ḳarāḳirḳ in some copies, and Ḥasanābād appears as Junābād. Miyān-Rūdān—'Between Streams'—is on the upper waters of the eastern tributary of the Burūjird river, south-east of this town and south-west of Karaj of Abu Dulaf. From Karaj to Isfahān many of the places named on the map are not found, and the variants in the MSS. are Āsan or Māsan; for Sangān, Sitakān or Sakwīn. Ashḳurān or Ashghurān is marked on the map and given by Yāḳūt (i, 281) as Ashkūrān; he also mentions (i, 446) Bāb Kushk as one of the great quarters at the gate of Isfahān, and though this name has now disappeared, Tīrān is a village marked on the map.

Route VIII.—Sulṭānīyah to Sūmghān (L. 196*d*).—Sulṭānīyah in 5 farsakhs to the village of Ḳuhūd, which the Mughāls call Ṣā'īn Ḳal'ah, thence 4 to the city of Abhar, thence 4 to Fārisjīn, thence—with the city of Ḳazvīn lying 4 leagues distant on the left hand—in 6 farsakhs to Sūmghān, which the Mughāls call Aḳ Khwājah. Beyond this place the way divides; to the right one road turns off, going to Sagzābād in 5 farsakhs (see Route XXVI), while the main road towards Khurāsān continues onward, as given in the next Route.

The name Ḳuhūd is now not known, Ṣāin Ḳal'ah having taken its place; the three next places will all be found on the map. Sūmghān, however, is wanting, and apparently is not mentioned by any other geographer; also the reading of the name is uncertain. Ḥamd-Allah, as will have been seen in Chapter 15, gives it as the uppermost limit of the Great Desert, and in the various MSS. the name appears as Sumḳān, Suwīḳān, Sūsḳān or Sūshḳān, Sūbīḳān, Siyūti'ān, and Sūs'an. It evidently was a place of some importance, and its position is fixed by the distances given between it, Fārisjīn, Ḳazvīn, and Sagzābād or Sagziābād.

Route IX.—Sūmghān to Busṭām (L. 196*d*).—Sūmghān in 5 farsakhs to the village of Māmarah, thence 8 to Dahand, thence 5 to Sunḳurābād, thence 5 to Dīh Khātūn, thence 5 to the Place of Martyrdom (Mashhad) of the Imām-zādah 'Abd-al-'Aẓīm, thence 3 to the city of Ray, thence 6 to Varāmīn, thence 6 to the Rubāṭ of Khumārtakīn, thence 6 to Khuvār of Ray, which is called Maḥallah-i-Bāgh (the Garden-Place), thence 6 to Dīh Namak (Salt Village), thence 6 to Rās-al-Kalb (Dog's Head), thence 6 to Dīh Surkh (Red Village), thence 4 to Samnān, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Āhuvān, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Hurmuz, also known as Jarm-Jūy (Hot-stream), thence 6 to Dāmghān, thence 6 to Ḥaddādah, otherwise known as Mihmān-dūst (Guest-friend). From this place one road branches to the right, going direct to Nīshāpūr by Sabzivār; to the left is the high road which passes through Jājarm, and from Ḥaddādah by this it is 7 farsakhs to the city of Busṭām.

The name Māmarah, one stage out from Sūmghān, is uncertain; the MSS. give various readings, as Yāharah, Mārbīn, Hāmrīn, and Hāmarah. Also the next stage is variously given as Dīhand, Dīh Pahand, or Sahand, and this name occurs again as one among the villages of Ḳazvīn mentioned in Chapter 2 (L. 146*r*). The remaining stations are for the most part those of the Arab itineraries, and will be found on the map; Rās-al-Kalb (Dog's Head), which Yāḳūt (ii, 733) refers to as a *Ḳal'ah* or Castle, is possibly identical with the present Lasjird, as already stated in the Introduction. Places named in the next two Routes have already been noticed in Chapters 17 and 19, or else will be found on our present maps; these being also for the most part identical with the stages given in the Arab itineraries.

Route X.—Busṭām to Nīshāpūr (L. 196*n*).—From the city of Busṭām it is 7 farsakhs to Maghaz, thence 7 to Sulṭānīyah village (or Dīh-i-Sulṭān), thence 3 to Rubāṭ Savanj, and thence 6 to Jājarm. From Jājarm it is 8 farsakhs to the village of Āzadvār, the birthplace of Khwājah Shams-ad-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣāḥib Dīvān, thence 4 to Khūdāshāh, thence 3 to Baḥrābād village, the abode of Shaykh Sa'd-ad-Dīn of Ḥamāh, thence 5 to Barzamābād, thence 4 to Tūdah (or Nūdah), thence

8 to Ṭaḳān-kūh, thence 6 to Rubāṭ Būzinagān at the village of Aḥmadābād, and thence 4 farsakhs to Nīshāpūr.

Route XI.—Nīshāpūr to Sarakhs and Marv-ar-Rūd (L. 196*u*).—Nīshāpūr 7 farsakhs to Dīh Bād, whence the road to Herāt branches to the right hand (Route XV); and from Dīh Bād, turning left, it is 5 leagues to Khākistar village, thence 3 to Rubāṭ Sangbast, thence 6 to Rubāṭ Māhī, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Tūrān (or Nūrān); thence in 7 farsakhs, across two passes each of half a league, you go to Rubāṭ Ābgīnah, thence 6 to Sarakhs, thence 9 to Rubāṭ Ja'farī, thence 7 to Mīl 'Omarī, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Abu Nu'aym, thence 5 farsakhs across the desert sands with no water to Āb-Shūr, thence 2 to Diz Hind, and thence 5 to the city of Marv-ar-Rūd.

Route XII.—Marv-ar-Rūd to Balkh and the Oxus (L. 197*a*).—Marv-ar-Rūd 7 farsakhs to Rubāṭ-i-Sulṭān, thence 5 to the village of Karajābād (or Kūchābad), thence in 7 farsakhs—the city of Ṭāliḳān lying 6 leagues distant on the right hand of the road—to Āb-i-Garm (Hot-Spring), thence 5 to Kabūtar-khānah; thence 7 to Masjid Rāzān; thence in 7 farsakhs—the city of Fāryāb lying two leagues distant on the right of the road—to Astānah, thence 6 to Rubāṭ Ka'b, thence 9 farsakhs across a waterless plain to the city of Shaburḳān. Thence it is 2 farsakhs to the village of Sulbarān, thence 9 to Rubāṭ 'Alawī (the Alid Guardhouse), thence 1 to Dastagird, thence 5 to the village of Pārah at the Bridge of Jamūkhiyān, and thence 2 to Balkh. From the city of Balkh it is 6 farsakhs to Siyāh-kūh (the Black Hills), and thence in 6 farsakhs you come to the Oxus river over against Tirmid.

Route XII A.—In the British Museum MS. (Add. 16,736) is the following duplication, in part, of the preceding route:—Marv-ar-Rūd 5 farsakhs to Araskan, thence 7 to Asrāb, thence 6 to Ganjābad, thence 6 to Ṭāliḳān, thence 5 to Kashhān, thence 5 to Arghūn in the district of Jūzjān, thence 5 to Kaṣr Ḥūṭ; thence 5 to Fāryāb, thence 9 to Kā', thence 9 to Shaburḳān, thence 6 to Ṣidrah, thence 5 to Dastagird, thence 4 to 'Awd, and thence it is 3 farsakhs to Balkh.

The first of these two routes is given, in part, in the *Jihān Numā* (p. 329), and between them they fix within narrow limits the positions of Ṭāliḳān and Fāryāb, two

important towns of the Jūzjān District, the names of which have apparently entirely disappeared from the map. Their probable sites have been discussed in Chapter 17.

Route XIII.—Busṭām to Farāvah (L. 197*j*).—From Busṭām by the pass called Nardibān-Pāyah it is 7 farsakhs to Dih Ganj, thence 6 to the village of Mīlābād, thence 5 to Mūsā-ābād village, thence 5 to the city of Jurjān. From Jurjān there are two roads to the northern frontier—one direct by the waterless desert, the other by Dihistān. By this last from Jurjān it is 9 farsakhs to Bīstān, thence 7 to the village of Muḥammadābād, thence 7 to Dihistān; from here it is 7 farsakhs to Rubāṭ Kursī (or Gazbīni), thence 9 to Rubāṭ Abu-l-'Abbās, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Ibn Ṭāhir, and thence 7 farsakhs to the city of Farāvah.

The MSS. give many variants both in this and the next route for the intermediate stages, which in the desert were mostly Rubāṭs or Guardhouses. For the part north of Jurjān city Sir H. C. Rawlinson may be consulted in the *Proceedings of the Roy. Geog. Soc.*, 1879 (i, 170), and for Bīstān, which the MSS. give variously as Bāraz, Sārar, Sār-rūd, and Sard-rūd, he adopts the reading Sināb-rūd, "a name restored to agree with the modern Sunībar." Farāvah, a place frequently mentioned by the Arab geographers, is probably to be identified with the modern Ḳizil Arvāt, this last being a corruption for Ḳizil-Rubāṭ, 'the Red Guardhouse.'

Route XIV.—Farāvah to Urganj (L. 197*l*).—From the city of Farāvah it is 8 farsakhs to Rubāṭ Khisht-Pukhtah, thence 8 to Khūshāb, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Ṭaghmāj, thence 7 to Karvān-gāh, thence 9 to Rubāṭ Sarhang, thence 7 to Minārah-gāh, thence 8 to Saīl-Balī, thence 7 to Mushk Mabnā, thence 9 to Rubāṭ Maryam, thence 8 to the town of New Khwārizm, thence 6 to New Ḥalam (or Khulm), and thence 4 farsakhs to Urganj, the capital of Khwārizm.

The stages of this desert road to Urganj, the city which the Arabs knew as Jurjāniyah, are given with a variety of readings in the MSS. The variants, however, are of no

great importance, since the stages merely represent halting-places, not towns or villages. Khwārizm-i-Naw — New Khwārizm—must be the capital of the province built to replace the town destroyed by the Mongols, and the ruins of *New* Khwārizm are now known as *Old* Urganj—Kuhnah Urganj; but what the place which Mustawfi calls Ḥalam or Khulm-i-Naw may represent—lying between the newer and the old capital of his time—it is difficult to determine. For Khwārizm in general see the concluding paragraphs of Chapter 17; also below, Route XIX.

Route XV.—Nīshāpūr to Herāt (L. 197*r*).—Nīshāpūr in 7 farsakhs to Dīh-Bād, where the road to Sarakhs already given (Route XI) goes off to the left, thence 7 to Rubāṭ-Badi'ī, thence 7 to Farhādān village, thence 7 to Sa'īdābād village, thence 5 to Dīh Khusrū, thence 7 to the city of Būjkān (or Būzjān), thence 6 to Gulābād, thence 10 to Kūshk Manṣūr, thence 6 to the city of Fūshanj (or Būshanj), and thence 8 farsakhs to Herāt.

Dīh-Bād—'the windy village'—is the place named in the Arab itineraries Ḳaṣr-ar-Rīh, which has a similar signification; it is now called Dizbād-Pāyin. As noticed in Chapter 17, the city of Būjkān, or Būzjān, also written in two words Pūch-Kān, is by the Arab geographers called Zām or Jām, and is now known as Turbat-i-Shaykh-Jām, from the tomb of the Saint buried here. Fūshanj or Būshanj (see also Chapter 17) is the modern Ghūriyān, but when the town took this last name appears to be unknown.

Route XVI.—Nīshāpūr to Turshīz (L. 197*x*).—From Nīshāpūr going through a populous, well-watered country where are 80 villages, it is 5 farsakhs to Rubāṭ Sih Dīh (Guardhouse of the Three Villages), thence 4 farsakhs to Rubāṭ Nūr-Khān, thence 3 to Chāh Siyāh (Black Pit), thence 5 to the village of Dāyah, thence 4 to Dīh Murd, and thence 7 farsakhs to Turshīz. From Turshīz it is 25 farsakhs to Tūn, and 36 to Kāyin, and likewise 36 to Būjkān.

Of the route here given none of the villages appear now to exist; their names are not found in the Arab itineraries;

and further, the readings of the *Nuzhat* are uncertain. In the MSS. the first stage out is often given as Rubāṭ Sayyidī Ghar. Dīh Dāyah appears as Dānah, Dār, or Vānah; Dīh Murd as Nimr, Nimrud, 'Umrad, or Bamrū, also as Dīh Ghar.

The following Route is not found in the Bombay Lithographed Text; it is practically identical with the road described by Muḳaddasī (p. 350) and the other Arab geographers.

Route XVII.—Herāt to Zaranj, given in the British Museum MS. (Add. 16,736).—Herāt one march to Jamān, thence the same to Kūh-i-Siyāh (Black Hills), thence the same to Ḳanāt Sarāy, thence the same to Khāstān (or Jāstān), which is Asfuzār, thence the same to Kūstān, thence the same to Darah, thence the same to the city of Farah, thence the same to Pūl-i-Rūd-i-Farah (Bridge over the Farah river), thence the same to Sirishk, thence the same to Kanjar, thence the same to Bast (or Bastak), thence the same to Juvayn, thence the same to Bastar, thence in 4 farsakhs you come to and cross the Hirmand river to Karkūyah, and thence in 3 farsakhs to (Zaranj, capital of) Sīstān.

Route XVIII.—Herāt to Marv-ar-Rūd and on to the city of Marv (L. 198*a*).—Herāt in 5 farsakhs to Hangāmābād, thence 5 to Bādghīs, thence 5 to Tūn, thence 5 to Marghzār Darrah, thence 8 to Baghchī Shūr, thence 5 to Usrūd (or Lūs-rūd), thence 4 farsakhs to Marv-ar-Rūd. From Marv-ar-Rūd it is 5 farsakhs to Ḳaṣr Aḥnaf ibn Ḳays, thence 4 to Khawrāt (Khawrzān or Khūrāb), thence 6 to Asadābād (or Astarābād), thence 7 to Ḳarīnayn, thence 5 to Yaḥyā-ābād, thence 7 to Mahdī ābād, thence 6 to Fāz, and thence 7 farsakhs to the city of Marv.

The first part of this route, from Herāt to Marv-ar-Rūd (Bālā Murghāb), for the most part is identical with that given in the Arab itineraries; it lies through a country where now there are no towns and hardly any villages, though in the middle ages Bādghīs was a populous province.

From Marv-ar-Rūd to Great Marv the route is that of the Arab geographers, and follows the course of the river Murghāb; Ḳaṣr Aḥnaf is the present Marūchak or Marv-i-Kuchik (Little Marv), having been called after one of the

palaces of Aḥnaf, son of Ḳays, the Arab leader in the first Moslem conquest of Khurāsān. The stages named are not those now found on the map.

Route XIX.—Marv to Urganj (L. 198*e*).—Marv in 5 farsakhs to Dīh Saḳrī, thence 2 to Dīh Ābdān Ganj, thence 8 to Rubāṭ Sūrān, thence 5 to Chāh Khāk (Dry Well), thence 7 to Chāh Ṣāchī, thence 7 to Chāh Hārūn; thence in 7 farsakhs—of which 2,000 yards are across the Moving Sands—to Rubāṭ-i-Naw-Shāgīrd, thence 7 to Sangābād, thence 6 to Rubāṭ Ṭāhirī, thence 5 to Rubāṭ Būdīnah, thence crossing the frontier of Khwārizm in 7 leagues to the city of Jaḳarband, thence 9 to Darghān, a city of Khwārizm, thence 5 to the Rubāṭ of Dahān-i-Shīr (the Guardhouse of the Lion's Mouth), where precipitous rocks form the Narrows of the Oxus, thence 4 to Sadūr (or Sandbūr), thence 10 to Hazārasp, thence 9 to Dīh-Zardūḳ, thence 7 to Rakhushmīthan, thence 6 to Andarābiyān (Andarabnān or Ūzārmand), thence 2 to the city of Nuzvār (Ruzvand or Sūrāvān), and thence 6 farsakhs to the city of Urganj, the capital of Khwārizm.

This route is also given in the *Jihān Numā* (p. 457), but the first portion across the desert is not found in any of the earlier Arab geographers. The names of the stages here are many of them uncertain, being differently written in the various MSS. of the *Nuzhat.* Cultivation began at Rubāṭ Ṭāhiri, or Ṭāhirīyah, on the Oxus, the first place in Khwārizm. This is mentioned by the Arab geographers, who name many of the stages given after this in their notices of the Khwārizm Province. The Narrows of the Camel's Neck, or Lion's Mouth, have been referred to in Chapter 17; but the names of the stages between Hazārasp and Urganj are most uncertain, and should be compared with those given by Muḳaddasī (p. 344).

Route XX.—Sulṭānīyah to Bājarvān (L. 198*n*).—Sulṭānīyah in 5 farsakhs to Zanjān, thence 7 to the village of Tūt (or Būb) Suvārī, thence 7 to the city of Kāghadh Kunān, thence by the Pass of Burūlaz on the river Safīd-rūd in 6 farsakhs to the village of Sanjīdah and Khalkhāl, thence 6 to the

village of Mālish (Bālish, or Ṭālish), thence 6 to the city of Ardabīl, thence 8 to Rubāṭ Arshad, thence 8 to the village of Varanḳ, to the east of which, one farsakh distant, lies Barzand, formerly a city, now a mere village, and thence 4 farsakhs to Bājarvān, formerly a city, now only a village.

This route, which is found in the *Jihān Numā* (p. 389), gives the position of Kāghadh Kunān or Khūnaj, already mentioned in Chapter 2, which was a mint city. The name of the pass near the Safīd-rūd is doubtful; it is variously given in the MSS. as Girīvah-i-Pardahlīs, Buzurgtar, or Barūlah, and the Sanjīdah is also a river mentioned among the affluents flowing into the Safīd-rūd. North of Ardabīl the ruins of Barzand exist, and this fixes the position of Bajarvān; for Arshad some MSS. give Arand; and for Varanḳ the variants are Varlaḳ, Dharīḳ, Dartaḳ, with other readings.

Many of the places on this route, with those to be mentioned in Route xxi, have been already referred to in the notes to Chapter 4 on Mūghān.

Route XXI.—Bājarvān to Maḥmūdābād (L. 198*s*).—Bājarvān in 8 farsakhs to Pīlsuvār, thence 6 to Jūy-i-naw (New Canal), and thence 6 to Maḥmūdābād Gāvbārī.

Route XXII.—Bājarvān to Tiflīs (L. 198*u*).—Bājarvān in 7 farsakhs to the village of 'Alī Beg, thence 6 to the village of Bakrābād, thence 2 to the bank of the river Aras, which is the frontier of Ḳarābāgh, thence 3 to the village of Har, thence 5 to Gharḳ, thence 4 to the village of Labandān, thence 3 to Bāzārchūḳ, thence 4 to the city of Bardā', thence 1 to the city of Jūzbīḳ, thence 4 to Dīh Isfahānī, thence 5 to Khānḳāh Shutur, thence 5 to Ganjah city, thence 2 to the city of Shamkūr, now in ruins, thence 3 to Yūrt-Shādāḳ-Bān, thence 6 to the Aḳtavān river, thence 5 to Yām, and thence 4 farsakhs to the city of Tiflīs.

On this road to Tiflīs, Bardā' and Ganjah exist, also Shamkūr, but for the intermediate stages the MSS. give a variety of readings. Gharḳ is given as Farḳ, Kūra', Ḳirḳ, or Tūraḳ. Labandān appears as Dīh Shuturān, or Katrān;

and the next stage may be read Darhūḳ. For Jūzbīḳ we get Jūzīnaḳ, Khūranḳ, or Ḥūrish; and the name Shādāḳ is given as Sadmīyān or Sārikiyān; finally, Yām may be read Bām or Māndam.

Route XXIII.—Bājarvān to Tabrīz (L. 199*b*).—Bājarvān in 4 farsakhs to Barzand (as aforesaid), thence 6 to Rubāṭ-i-Ayvān built by the Vazīr Khwājah Tāj-ad-Dīn 'Alī Shāh Tabrīzī, thence 8 to the village of Bahlatān (Baylaḳān, Dīh Sulṭān, or Sahlaḳān) known as the village of the Ṣāḥib Dīvān, thence in 8 farsakhs passing the Rubāṭ (Guardhouse) built by the Vazīr 'Alī Shāh aforesaid standing in the valley called Darrah Farūjāy to the city of Ahar, thence in 6 farsakhs by the Pass of Gūlchah-Nīl (the Blue Lake), in which stand two Guardhouses—one the Rubāṭ built by Khwājah Sa'd-ad-Dīn, the other by Amīr Niẓām-ad-Dīn Yaḥyā of Sāvah—to the village of Armīnān (or Arminiyān), thence passing another Rubāṭ built by the Vazīr 'Alī Shāh aforesaid at the stage of Yaldūḳ (or Baldūḳ) it is 8 farsakhs to Tabrīz.

The name of the valley called Farūjāy is in some MSS. given as Ḳirdjāy or Ḳarūjāy; Gūlchah Nīl appears as Kūkjay or Kavīlah Nīl, while Armīnān or Arminiyān has the variants Aranmiyān or Larsān. Apparently none of these places are marked on our maps, but this route is copied into the *Jihān Numā* (p. 389), and in Appendix III, already quoted in the remarks on Chapter 3, Mustawfī (L. 217*y*) mentions many of these places when describing the course of the Ahar river.

The next four Routes, giving the Itineraries from Sulṭānīyah westward to Sīvās, and from Sūmghān (already mentioned in Route viii) southward *viâ* Isfahān to Shīrāz, need no comment, for the places mentioned will for the most part be found on the map, and have already been dealt with in Chapters 2, 3, 7, and 12.

Route XXIV.—Sulṭānīyah to Tabrīz (L. 199*h*).—Sulṭānīyah in 5 farsakhs to Zanjān, thence 6 to Rubāṭ Nikbāy built by the Vazīr Khwājah Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn Amir Muḥammad Rashīdī, and another Rubāṭ has been built here by his brother Khwājah

Jalāl-ad-Dīn, thence in 7 farsakhs to Sarcham, thence by a pass in 6 farsakhs to Miyānij, thence 6 to the village of Turkmān Kandī called Dayr Kharrān, which formerly was a city, thence 4 to the village of Shankalābād, thence 4 to the city of Awjān, thence 4 by a pass to Sa'īdābād (or Sa'dābād), and thence in 4 farsakhs to the city of Tabrīz.

Route XXV.—Tabrīz to Sīvās (L. 199*n*).—Tabrīz 11 farsakhs to Marand, thence 12 to Khuvī (Khoi), thence 6 to Shakmābād, thence 5 to Shahr-i-Naw, thence 3 to Band-Māhī, thence 8 to Arjīsh, thence 8 to Malāsjird, thence 10 to Khanūs, thence 5 to the Pass of Aḳ Aftan, thence 5 to Basīn, thence 6 to Arzan-ar-Rūm, thence 10 to Asjah of the district of Vasīrjān, thence 10 to Khumān Ḳubūḥ at the foot of the pass, thence 4 to Arzanjān, thence 5 to the village of Khwājah Aḥmad, thence 7 to Arzanjak, thence 8 to Aḳ-Shahr, thence 5 to Akarsūk, thence 8 to Zārah, thence 10 to Rubāṭ Khwājah Aḥmad, and thence it is 4 farsakhs to Sīvās.

Route XXVI.—Sūmghān called Āḳ-Khwājah to Isfahān (L. 199*v*). —From Sūmghān it is 5 farsakhs to Sagzābād—this last being 24 farsakhs or 5 stages distant from Sulṭānīyah (see Route VIII)—and from Sagzābād it is 6 farsakhs to Rubāṭ Ḥājib, thence 7 to Rubāṭ Dawānīḳ, thence 5 to the city of Sāvah, thence 4 to Āvah, thence 6 to Ḳum, thence 12 to Kāshān, thence 8 to the village of Ḳuhrūd, thence 6 to the village of Wāsiṭah, thence it is 6 farsakhs to the Rubāṭ Murchah Khūrd, and 6 on to the village of Sīn—or else from Wāsiṭah it is 12 farsakhs direct to Sīn by the Miyānī Road, but on this way are no habitations—and from the village of Sīn it is 4 farsakhs to Isfahān.

Route XXVII. — Isfahān to Shīrāz (L. 200*c*).—Isfahān in 3 farsakhs to the village of Isfahānak, thence 5 to the village of Mihyār on the frontier of Fārs, thence 6 to Ḳūmishah, thence 5 to the village of Rūdkān, thence 7 to Yazdikhwāst, from here the winter road down to Band-i-'Aḍudī turns off to the left, while the (shorter, western, or) summer road is to the right, by Kūshk-i-Zard, namely, from Yazdikhwāst in 8 farsakhs to Dīh Girdū, thence 7 to Kūshk-i-Zard aforesaid, thence 8 by the Girīvah-i-Mādar wa Dukhtar (Mother and Daughter Pass) to the Rubāṭ of Ṣalāḥ-ad-Dīn in the plain called Dasht Rūn, thence 3 to the Guardhouse at

the Bridge called Pūl-i-Shahriyār, thence 7 farsakhs through the very stony Pass of Māyin to the town of Māyin, thence in 4 farsakhs—passing by the Castles of Iṣṭakhr and Shikastah which overhang the road on the left hand — to Pūl-i-Naw (New Bridge), thence 5 to Dīh Gurg (Wolf village), and thence in 5 farsakhs to the city of Shīrāz.

Route XXVIII.—Shīrāz to the Island of Ḳays and by sea to India (L. 200*l*).—Shīrāz 5 farsakhs to Shahrak village, thence 5 to the city of Kavār, thence by the Girīvah-i-Zanjīrān (Pass of Chains), leaving Fīrūzābād 7 farsakhs distant away to the right hand, in 5 farsakhs to Rubāṭ Chamankān, thence 5 to Maymanah, thence 6 to the beginning of the Ṣimkān District, thence 6 to the end of this District, thence in 7 farsakhs to Kārzīn by the Pass of Sang-i-Safīd (the White Stone), which is one farsakh short of Kārzīn, thence it is 5 farsakhs to Lāghir, thence 6 to the Fāryāb District, thence 6 to the city of Ṣaj, thence 5 to Āb-Anbār-i-Kinār, thence 5 to Haram, thence in 6 farsakhs by many steep passes to the village of Dārūk, thence 6 to Māhān, thence in 6 farsakhs by the Pass of Lardak to Huzū on the sea-shore. From here you cross the water in 4 leagues to the city of Ḳays (on the island of that name). From this island it is 18 farsakhs to the Island of Abarkāfān, thence 7 to the Island of Urmūṣ, thence in 70 leagues you come to the Island of Bār on the frontier of Sind, and thence it is 80 to Daybul, which lies 2 leagues from the mouth of the Mihrān (Indus), which is the great river of Sind.

From Shīrāz to Kārzīn and Lāghar this road may be followed on the map, and the 'Pass of Chains' north of Fīrūzābād is still so named; but south of this, to Huzū on the coast (given by the Arab geographers as the port for Ḳays Island and city) the route is found in no other authority, and has not, I believe, been followed by any traveller in modern times. Variants are numerous in the MSS. The name of the city called Ṣaj may be Ṣaḥ, Ḥaj, or Ḍaḥ, with many other combinations of the diacritical points as Khabakh and Ḥanaj, etc. Haram appears as Sīram or Marmaz. Dārūk may be Dārzak, Ūrak, or Dāvrak; finally, Māhān is given as Hāmān or Māyān. From Ḳays

Island the sea road to India is that in continuation of Route IV already given, and in regard to the names of the islands in the Persian Gulf these have all been discussed in Chapter 12.

Route XXIX.—Shīrāz to Kāzirūn (L. 200*x*).—Shīrāz in 5 farsakhs to the Wall of Ḥājjī Ḳawwām, thence 8 to Dasht Arzin, thence 6 to the Rubāṭ (Guardhouse) at the head of the Mālān Pass, which is very steep, thence by the Hūshang Pass, also very steep, in 3 farsakhs to Kāzirūn.

The two passes named before Kāzirūn are those now known as the Kūtal-i-Pīr-i-Zan and the Kūtal-i-Dukhtar—the Passes of the Old Woman and of the Maiden: for the other places see Chapter 12.

Route XXX.—Shīrāz to Hurmūz (L. 200*z*).—Shīrāz in 12 farsakhs to Sarvistān, thence 8 to the city of Fasā, thence 6 to Tīmaristān village, thence 8 to Dārkān (or Zārkān), from which, turning to the left in 4 farsakhs, you reach the city of Ig, the capital of Shabānkārah. To the right from Dārkān it is 10 farsakhs to Dārābgird, thence 3 to the village of Khayr, thence 6 to Shabankān, thence 3 to Rustāḳ, and thence 3 farsakhs to Burk (Forg); from here it is 6 farsakhs to Tāshkū, thence 6 to Tārum, thence to the frontier of the Lār Province at Janād (or Chinār) it is 4 farsakhs, thence 8 to Chāh Chil, thence 8 to Tūsar on the sea-coast, whence by water it is 4 leagues to the Island of Hurmūz.

The places along the route have been for the most part noticed in Chapters 12 and 13. Tāshkū beyond Forg is mentioned by Dupré (*Voyages en Perse*, ii, 489); the MSS. give Tashlū, Dāshlū, Shalū, with many other readings; but Tāshkū is doubtless the true version. Tūsar, the port on the Persian Gulf, whence the crossing is made to Hurmūz Island, is given as Dūsar, Lawhar, and Luvīlīr in the various MSS. It must occupy, more or less, the position of the harbour named Shahrū by Iṣṭakhrī (p. 170) and Sūrū or Sārū by Ibn Ḥawḳal (p. 226), being identical with the later Gombroon, which is written Gumrū by Ḥājjī Khalfah (*Jihān Numā*, p. 260); and this last is generally held to have been

a corruption of Gumruk, the Turkish name for 'Custom-house' (from the Greek *κουμερκί*), which came into common use all over the East.

Route XXXI.—Shīrāz to Kirmān (L. 201*f*).—Shīrāz in 8 farsakhs to Dāriyān, thence 8 to Kharramah, thence 4 to Khūlanjān, thence 6 to Kand (or Kīd), thence 6 to Khayrah, thence 5 to Chāh 'Uḳbah, thence 8 to Bulangān, thence 8 to Chāhik, thence 8 to Chāhik City, thence 8 to Sarūshak, thence 8 to Shahr-i-Bābak, thence 8 to Kūshk Nu'mān, thence 4 to Abān, thence 10 to the city of Sīrjān, from which it is 20 farsakhs to Kirmān (city).

This is the road by the southern side of Bakhtigān Lake to the towns of Little and Great Ṣāhik (or Chāhik) given by the Arab itineraries. The present ruins at Dīh Chāh and Chāh Khushk probably represent these places. Great Ṣāhik was a city of some importance in the middle ages, where the road from Persepolis to Kirmān — along the northern shore of Lake Bakhtigān by Abādah City—joined the route here given coming from Shīrāz. For the reading Shahr Chāhik (Great Ṣāhik of the Arabs) nearly all of the MSS. give Shahr Atābeg, which possibly may have been the name of this place in the fourteenth century, though apparently not so given by any other authority.

The next route needs no commentary; it follows the nomenclature of the Arab geographers, and most of the places named will be found on the map, and have been noticed in Chapter 12.

Route XXXII.—Shīrāz to Yazd (L. 201*k*).—Shīrāz in 5 farsakhs to the village of Zargān, thence 3 to the dam called Band-i-Amīr on the Kur river, thence 3 to the village of Kinārah in the districts of Ḥafrak and Marv Dasht, thence 3 to Fārūḳ, thence 3 to Kamīn, thence 4 to Mashhad-i-Mādar-i-Sulaymān —'Shrine of the Mother of Solomon,' namely, the Tomb of Cyrus—thence 6 to Rubāṭ Mashk, thence 12 to the city of Abarḳūh, thence 13 to Dīh Shīr (Lion village), thence 6 to Dīh Jawz (Nut village), thence 4 to Ḳal'at-i-Majūs (Magiau's Castle), thence in 5 farsakhs to the city of Ḳathah or Yazd, standing in its Jūmah (District, otherwise Ḥūmah).

Route XXXIII.—Shīrāz to Arrajān and Bustānak (L. 201*p*).—Shīrāz in 5 farsakhs to Juvaym, thence 5 to Khallār, thence 5 to Kharrārah, thence 4 to Kuvār, which is of the district of Tīr Murdān, thence 3 to Karkān, thence 3 to Nawbanjān, thence 4 to Khābadān, thence 6 to Kishish, thence 5 to Gumbadh Mallaghān, thence 4 to Chawhah, thence 4 to Jīsh, thence 6 to Furzuk, thence 4 to Arrajān, and 4 farsakhs on to Bustānak, which is the frontier of Fārs and Khuzistān.

These stages for the most part are given in the Arab itineraries, and in the reverse order this is the route followed by Timur when on his march from Shustar to Ḳal'ah Safīd and Shīrāz, as given in the *Ẓafar Nāmah* (i, 600). Juvaym (marked Goyun on the map) and Khullār exist, also the ruins of Nawbanjān or Nawbandajān, which last name the MSS. more often give as Būhanjān or Lāhijān, and in a variety of other mistaken readings. This Nawbanjān, a celebrated city throughout the middle ages, lies some twenty-five miles due north of the ruins of Shāpūr, and was close to the famous valley of Sha'b Bavvān. Our maps now show another Nawbanjān, a village about twenty-five miles distant due west of Shāpūr; this place is not mentioned by the mediæval geographers, and the *city* of Nawbanjān or Nawbandajān must not be confounded with this modern village. Khabādhān, or Khwāndān, was on the river of that name already mentioned in Chapter 12, and Gumbadh Mallaghān is doubtless the modern Du Gumbadān (Two Domes), near which are some extensive ruins. The remaining stages to Arrajān are difficult to identify, and the MSS. give a variety of readings. Kishish appears as Kish or Mālish, Chawhah as Ṣāfah or Ṣā'ighah, Jazrak as Khawrak or Marzaḳ; but the same uncertainty is found in the corresponding Arab itineraries of Ibn Ḥawḳal and Muḳaddasi, and as none of these names are now found on the map it is impossible to get to any certainty in the matter.

In conclusion, I have two corrections of some importance to add, which have come to hand since the earlier portions of this paper were published. In the April number (p. 249) it

is stated that "the Urmīyah Lake appears to have been known to Ḥamd-Allah under the name of Khanjast," and it is added that the spelling of this name is uncertain. Professor P. Horn, of Strassburg, has since written to me that the true reading is *Chīchast* (differing from Khanjast only by a variation of the diacritical points), this being a modification of the name given to the Urmīyah Lake in the Avesta where the ancient spelling is *Chaēchasta.* Hence in the *Shāh Nāmah* (Turner-Macan, p. 1860, l. 4, and p. 1927, l. 6 from below) *Chīchast* should be read for 'Khanjast.'

The second correction is for the July number (p. 530), in the matter of the true site of Sīrjān, the earlier of the two capitals of the Kirmān province. In his recent work *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia,* which is reviewed on another page, Major P. Molesworth Sykes describes (p. 431) the ruins of a fortress and town called Ḳal'ah-i-Sang, covering a hill-top, which is some 5 miles to the eastward of Sa'īdābād on the road to Bāft. These ruins are also known as Ḳal'ah-i-Bayzā, 'the White Castle,' and appear beyond reasonable doubt to be those of Sīrjān, the fortress of which was destroyed by the orders of Tīmūr (see J.R.A.S., April, 1901, p. 284). The position of Ḳal'ah-i-Sang is, it is true, rather more to the westward and further from Kirmān city than the distances given in the Arab geographers would seem to warrant, but this is probably explicable by the very varying estimate given to the *Marḥalah,* or Day's March, on which we have to rely when, unfortunately, the stages in farsakhs are not given.

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SKETCH MAP
OF
MESOPOTAMIA AND PERSIA

IN THE 14TH CENTURY A.D. UNDER THE MONGOLS, AS DESCRIBED BY HAMD-ALLAH MUSTAWFI OF KAZVIN.

drawn by G. le Strange, M.R.A.S.

THE CHAHÁR MAQÁLA.

In my article on *The Sources of Daulatsháh*, which appeared in the January number of the Journal, I have already spoken of the excellent work which I now have the pleasure to present in English dress. For my translation I have used the Tihrán lithographed edition of A.H. 1305, which I have carefully collated throughout with the older of the two British Museum MSS. (Or. 3,507, dated A.H. 1017), and, in all doubtful passages, with the second MS. (Or. 2,955, dated A.H. 1274) also. These MSS. are fully described in Rieu's *Persian Supplement*, pp. 244–245 and 265, Nos. 390 and 418. It remains only to say a few words concerning the author and the book.

The *Chahár Maqála* contains, as its name implies, four discourses, each of which treats of a class of men deemed by the author indispensable for the service of kings, to wit, (1) scribes (*dabírán*) or secretaries; (2) poets; (3) astrologers; and (4) physicians. Each discourse begins with certain general considerations on the class in question, which are afterwards illustrated by anecdotes, drawn, in large measure, from the personal reminiscences of the author, who was himself a court-poet and a frequenter of royal assemblies. The total number of these anecdotes, which constitute at once the most entertaining and the most valuable portion of the book, is about forty, an average of ten to each "discourse." So far as I know, only two of them, one concerning Firdawsí and the other about 'Umar Khayyám, have hitherto been cited from this work. Of these the first (translated by Ethé in vol. xlviii of the

Z.D.M.G., pp. 89–94) was taken, not from the *Chahár Maqála* itself, but from Ibn Isfandiyár's *History of Ṭabaristán*, where it is quoted *in extenso*; while the second seems to have been known only in abridged citations, the misunderstanding of which gave rise to the Rose-tree cult of the 'Umar Khayyám Society, referred to at p. 414 of the April number of the Journal.

Of the excellent style of the *Chahár Maqála*, a style at once strong, concise, and pregnant with meaning, though not always easy or simple, I have already spoken at pp. 40, 53, 56–57, and 61–69 of the January number of the Journal, so that there is no occasion to insist upon it further. As, however, my translation will occupy two numbers of the Journal, it may be convenient that I should here give a brief table of its contents.

INTRODUCTORY (*Tihrán ed.*, pp. 1–27).

(1) *Doxology, and Dedication to the Ghúrid Prince Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí b. Mas'úd, son of Fakhru'd-Dín Mas'úd, brother of Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad, and nephew of "the World-consumer" (Jahán-súz) 'Alá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn who reigned* A.D. 1149–1170 (pp. 1–6).

(2) *Beginning of the book. The author here gives his full name as Aḥmad b. 'Umar b. 'Alí an-Niẓámí as Samarqandí, and states that he has been in the service of the House of Ghúr for forty-five years* (pp. 6–7).

(3) *Excursus* i, *on the different grades of Being, and the Creation and Disposition of the World* (pp. 7–11).

(4) *Excursus* ii, *on the Development of the Mineral, Vegetable, and Animal Kingdoms* (pp. 11–14).

(5) *Excursus* iii, *on the Evolution, Faculties, and Senses (internal and external) of Man; the three classes of men; and the Kingly and Prophetic Offices* (pp. 14–[illegible] *including—*

(6) *Anecdote* i, *on the Nasnás, or Wild Man* (pp. 20–[illegible]), [illegible] *ending with—*

(7) *Plan of work and brief statement of contents* (pp. 26–27).

FIRST DISCOURSE: SECRETARIES (pp. 27–59).

Nature of the Secretarial Function and Qualifications of the Perfect Scribe (pp. 27–33).[1]

Anecdote ii, *concerning Iskáfi* (pp. 33–36).

Anecdote iii, *on Iskáfi's despatch announcing the defeat of Mákán* (pp. 36–40).

Anecdote iv, *showing that a Secretary of State should not be exposed to domestic worry* (pp. 40–42).

Anecdote v, *concerning the Ṣáḥib Isma'íl ibn 'Abbád* (pp. 42–43).

Anecdote vi, *concerning Aḥmad Ḥasan of Maymand and the Lamghán deputies* (pp. 43–46).

Anecdote vii, *concerning al-Ma'mún's wedding* (pp. 46–51).

Anecdote viii, *concerning al-Mustarshid's oration against the Seljúqs* (pp. 51–53).

Anecdote ix, *concerning the Gúr Khán* (pp. 53–54).

Anecdote x, *concerning the supernatural eloquence of the Qur'án* (pp. 54–55).

Anecdote xi, *concerning Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'lláh, Bughrá Khán's secretary* (pp. 55–59).

SECOND DISCOURSE: POETS (pp. 59–113).

Nature of the Poetic Art, and Qualifications of the Expert Poet (pp. 59–69), *including*—

Anecdote xii, *concerning Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'lláh of Khujistán* (pp. 59–61), *and*—

List of the eminent poets who have shed lustre on the courts of the various Persian dynasties down to the author's time (pp. 62–64).

Anecdote xiii, *concerning Rúdagi's skill in improvisation* (pp. 69–76).

Anecdote xiv, *concerning Maḥmúd and Ayáz, and 'Unṣurí's improvisation* (pp. 76–79).

Anecdote xv, *concerning Farrukhí's improvisation* (pp. 79–87).

[1] p. 31 is by mistake omitted in the pagination, which, for convenience of reference, I have followed without correction.

Anecdote xvi, *concerning the author's early struggles, and Mu'izzí's counsel and encouragement* (pp. 87–93).
Anecdote xvii, *concerning the anger of Ṭughán Sháh and Azraqí's improvisation* (pp. 93–95).
Anecdote xviii, *concerning the imprisonment of Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán and others by Sulṭán Ibráhím* (pp. 95–98).
Anecdote xix, *concerning 'Am'aq and Rashídi* (pp. 98–101).
Anecdote xx, *concerning Firdawsí* (pp. 101–109).
Anecdote xxi, *autobiographical* (pp. 109–113).

THIRD DISCOURSE: ASTROLOGERS (pp. 113–138).

Nature of Astrology, and Qualifications of the Expert Astrologer (pp. 113–115).
Anecdote xxii, *concerning Ya'qúb b. Isḥáq al-Kindí* (pp. 115–118).
Anecdote xxiii, *concerning Sulṭán Maḥmúd and Abú Rayḥán al-Bírúní* (pp. 118–123).
Anecdote xxiv, *concerning the skill possessed by an old woman in the author's service in the Lore of the Stars* (pp. 123–125).
Anecdote xxv, *concerning Maḥmúd Dá'údí, the crazy soothsayer* (pp. 125–128).
Anecdote xxvi, *concerning al-Mawṣilí, the Astrologer, and the Nidḥámu'l-Mulk* (pp. 128–130).
Anecdote xxvii, *concerning 'Umar Khayyám's prediction as to his place of burial* (pp. 130–131).
Anecdote xxviii, *concerning a weather forecast made by 'Umar Khayyám* (pp. 131–133).
Anecdote xxix, *concerning a vagrant and irresponsible Astrologer* (pp. 133–136).
Anecdote xxx, *concerning a successful prognostication made by the author* (pp. 136–138).

FOURTH DISCOURSE: PHYSICIANS (pp. 138–178).

Nature of the Science and Art of Medicine, and Qualifications of the Physician (pp. 138–141).

Anecdote xxxi, *concerning faith-healing* (pp. 141–146), *including a dissertation on the most excellent works on Medicine, and the pre-eminence of Avicenna.*

Anecdote xxxii, *concerning a heroic cure wrought by Bukht-Yishú'* (pp. 146–147).

Anecdote xxxiii, *concerning a remarkable cure of Rheumatism* (pp. 147–149).

Anecdote xxxiv, *concerning another remarkable cure effected by Muḥammad Zakariyyá ar-Rází by the instrumentality of mental emotion* (pp. 149–154).

Anecdote xxxv, *concerning the adventures and the skill of Avicenna* (pp. 154–163).

Anecdote xxxvi, *concerning a heroic cure wrought by 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla's physician Kámilu's-Ṣanā'at* (pp. 163–165).

Anecdote xxxvii, *concerning a remarkable cure of Melancholia effected by Avicenna* (pp. 165–168).

Anecdote xxxviii, *concerning the restoration to life of a man apparently dead by Adíb Isma'íl* (pp. 168–169).

Anecdote xxxix, *concerning the reproof addressed by a physician to a theologian whom he had saved from imminent death* (pp. 169–170).

Anecdote xl, *concerning a cure effected by Galen* (pp. 170–171).

Anecdote xli, *concerning a remarkable cure wrought by the author* (pp. 171–173).

Conclusion (pp. 173–174).

Postscript by the editor of the Tihrán edition (pp. 174–176).

As regards the author, Niẓámí-i-'Aruḍí of Samarqand, he will best reveal himself by his own numerous allusions to his career and adventures. His present work was written, at least in part, during the lifetime of 'Alá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn *Jahán-súz* ("the World-consumer"), who died in A.D. 1161, and since he speaks of himself as having been forty-five years in the service of the House of Ghúr, it is evident that he must have been born towards the end of the eleventh century of our era. The chief dates which he gives in the autobiographical portions of his work are as

follows. In A.H. 504 (A.D. 1110–1111) he heard traditions concerning Rúdagí at Samarqand (Anecdote xiii). In A.H. 506 (A.D. 1112–1113) he met 'Umar Khayyám at Níshápúr (Anecdote xxvii). In A.H. 509 (A.D. 1115–1116) he was at Herát (Anecdote xvii). In the following year he was at Níshápúr (Anecdote i) and Ṭús (Anecdotes xvi and xx), where he visited Firdawsí's tomb. His position and income were at this time precarious, but, encouraged by the poet Mu'izzí, he succeeded in attracting the king's notice and winning his approval. In A.H. 512 (A.D. 1118–1119) he was again at Níshápúr (Anecdote xxxi), and once more in A.H. 530 (A.D. 1135–1136), when he visited 'Umar Khayyám's grave, and remarked the fulfilment of the prediction uttered by the Astronomer-poet twenty-four years earlier (Anecdote xxvii). In A.H. 547 (A.D. 1152–1153) he was involved in the defeat of the army of Ghúr by Sanjar b. Maliksháh the Seljúq, and was for a while in hiding at Herát (Anecdotes xxx and xli). His life, in short, seems to have been spent chiefly in Khurásán at royal courts, where he had opportunities of meeting many noteworthy persons. Though a poet by profession, he seems to have been equally ready to practise Astrology (Anecdote xxx) and Medicine (Anecdote xli). Of his personal character, as of his ability, his work produces, on the whole, a very favourable impression, and the book itself I should be disposed to describe as one of the most interesting, the most instructive, the most charming, and the best written Persian prose works which it has been my fortune to come across. Of this, however, the reader shall judge for himself.

Notices of the writer occur in 'Awfí's *Lubábu'l-Albáb* (ch. x, § 2, Poets of Transoxania), from which we learn nothing about his personality save that he bore the *laqab* of Najmu'd-Dín; Dawlatsháh's *Tadhkira* (Ṭabaqa i, No. 13, pp. 60–61 of my forthcoming edition), where laudatory mention is made of the *Chahár Maqála*; Hájí Khalífa (No. 4,348, s.v. چهار مقاله), who calls him *Nidhámu'd-Dín* (instead of *Najmu'd-Dín*), which is probably correct; the

Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá of that most accomplished of recent Persian writers, Riḍá-qulí Khán (vol. i, p. 635), who places him higher as a prose-writer than as a poet; and, no doubt, other biographical works. But, leaving these aside, let us now allow the author to speak for himself, only premising that, where reference is made to various readings, the older MS. (Or. 3,507) is denoted by A, the other MS. (Or. 2,955) by B, and the Tihrán lithographed edition by L.

The Four Discourses (Chahár Maqála) of Nidhámí-i-'Arúḍí-i-Samarqandí.

In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Clement.

Praise and thanks and glory to that King who, by[1] the instrumentality of the Cherubim and Angels of the Spirit World, brought into being the World of Return and Restoration, and, by means thereof, created and adorned the World of Becoming and Decay, maintaining it by the Command and Prohibition of the Prophets and Saints, and restraining it by the swords and pens of Kings and Ministers. And blessings upon the Lord of both worlds, who was the most perfect of the Prophets, and invocations of grace upon his Companions and those of his Household, who were the most excellent of Saints and Vicars. And honour to the King of this time, that learned, just, divinely-favoured, victorious, and heaven-aided monarch, *Ḥusámu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín*, Helper of Islám and the Muslims, Exterminator of the infidels and polytheists, Subduer of the heretical and the froward, Supporter of hosts in the worlds, Pride of Kings and Emperors, Succourer of mankind, Protector of these days, Fore-arm of the Caliphate, Beauty of the Faith and Glory of the Nation, Order of the Arabs and the Persians, noblest of mankind, *Shamsu'l-Ma'álí*,

[1] L. has بلا توسّط, "without the intervention."

Maliku'l-Umará, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí b. Mas'úd,[1] Help of the Prince of Believers, may his life be filled with success, may the greater part of the world be assigned to his name, and may the ordering of the affairs of Adam's seed be directed by his care! For to-day he is the most excellent of the kings of the age in nobility, pedigree, doughty deeds, judgement, statesmanship, justice, equity, valour, and generosity, as well as in the adorning of his territory, the embellishment of his realms, the maintenance of his friends, the subjugation of his foes, the raising of armies, the safeguarding of the people, the securing of the roads, and the tranquilizing of the realms,[2] and also in that upright judgement, clear understanding, strong resolve, and firm determination, by the excellence of which the concatenation of the House of Shansab[3] is held together and maintained in order, and by the perfection of which the strong arm of that Dynasty is strengthened and braced. May God Almighty give him full portion, together with the other kings of that line, of dominion and domain, and throne and fortune, by His Favour and His Grace!

But to proceed. It is an old custom and ancient practice, which custom is maintained and observed, that the Author, in the introduction to his discourse and preface of his book, should commemorate somewhat of his patron's praise, and record some prayer on behalf of the object of his eulogy. But I, a loyal servant, instead of praise and prayer for this prince, will make mention in this book of those favours ordained and vouchsafed by God Almighty to this King of kingly parentage, that, these being submitted to his world-illuminating judgement, he may betake himself to the expression of his thanks for them. For in

[1] This Prince belonged to the Bámiyán line of the Ghúrid Dynasty, was the son of Fakhru'd-Dín Mas'úd, and brother of Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad, and flourished in the latter part of the sixth century of the *hijra*.

[2] L. has از مهالک, "from perils," instead of ممالک.

[3] See *Ṭabaqát-i-Náṣirí* (ed. Nassau Lees), p. 101 et seqq. The correct reading is found only in A. B. has انسانیت, L. آل شیب.

the uncreated Scripture and unmade Word, God says, "*Verily if ye be thankful, We will give unto you increase*"[1]; for the gratitude of the servant is an alchemy for the favours of the Munificent Lord. Briefly, then, it behoves this great King and puissant Prince to know that to-day, upon the whole of this globe of dust, and within the circle of this green firmament,[2] there is no king in more ample circumstances than this monarch, nor any potentate enjoying more abundant good than this sovereign. He hath the gift of youth and the blessing of constant health; his father and mother are alive; congenial brothers are on his right hand and on his left. And what father is like his sire, the mighty, divinely-strengthened, ever-victorious, heaven-aided *Fakhru'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín*,[3] Prince of the realms of Írán, King of the Mountains (may God prolong his continuance and continue to the heights his exaltation!), who is the most puissant of the monarchs of the age, and the most excellent of the princes of the time in judgement, statecraft, knowledge, chivalry, swordsmanship, strength of arm, treasure, and muniment! Supported by ten[4] thousand men bearing spears and handling reins, he hath made himself a shield before his sons, so that no disturbing blast of the zephyr may so much as blow on one of their servants. Under his high protection and unassailable precaution (may God increase their degree!), prayers, of which each clause is breathed upwards at full morning-tide to the Court of God, co-operate with a far-trailing host and wheeling army. What a brother, too, like the royal Prince *Shamsu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín*, Light of Islám and the Muslims (may his victories be rendered glorious!), who reaches the extreme limit of endeavour in the service of this my master (whose exaltation may God perpetuate!). Praise be to God that this my master omits naught either

[1] Qur'án, xiv, 7.

[2] A. has چتر, "umbrella," for چرخ, "firmament."

[3] Fakhru'd-Dín Mas'úd b. 'Izzu'd-Dín Ḥasan, A.H. 550 (A.D. 1155).

[4] L. om. "ten."

in reward or retribution![1] And a favour yet greater is this, that the All-Perfect Benefactor and Unchanging Giver hath bestowed on him an uncle like the Lord of the World and Sovereign of the East, *'Alá'u'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín* Abú 'Alí al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥusayn,[2] *Ikhtiyáru Amíri'l-Mú'minín* (may God prolong his life[3] and cause his kingdom to endure!), who, with fifty thousand mail-clad men, strenuous in endeavour, obliterated the hosts of the world, and set in a corner all the kings of the age. May God (blessed and exalted is He!) long vouchsafe all to one another, and give all long enjoyment of one another's company, and fill the world with light by their achievements, by His Favour, and Bounty, and Grace!

Beginning of the Book.

Your loyal servant and faithful retainer Aḥmad b. 'Umar[4] b. 'Alí an-Nidhámí al-'Arúḍí as-Samarqandí, who for forty-five years hath been devoted to the service of this House and inscribed in the register of the vassals of this Dynasty, desireth to render a service to the Supreme Imperial Court (may God exalt it!), and to set forth, according to the canons of Philosophy, duly adorned with decisive proofs, trenchant arguments and sound counsel, what kingship truly is, who is truly king, whence is derived this honourable office, to whom rightly appertaineth this favour, and in what manner one ought to show one's gratitude for, and after what fashion accept, this privilege, so as to be second to the Lord of the children of men and third to the All-Provider of the Universe; for in the

[1] A. adds: بلکه جهان روشن بروی او همی بیند و عمر شیرین بجمال او همی گذارد.

[2] 'Alá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn, called *Jahán-súz*, "the World-consumer," A.H. 544–556.

[3] L. for عمرهٔ has عزّهٔ, "his glory."

[4] L. om. [بن عمر].

Incontrovertible Scripture and Eternal Word God hath co-ordinated on one thread the pearls represented by these three exalted titles: "*Obey God,*" saith He, "*and obey His Apostle, and such as possess authority amongst yourselves.*"[1]

Now in the grades of existences and the ranks of the intelligibles, apart from the prophetic function, which is the supreme limit of man's degree, there is no rank higher than sovereignty, which is naught else but a Divine gift. God, glorious is His Name, hath accorded this position to the King of the age, and bestowed on him this degree, so that he may walk after the way of former kings and maintain the people after the manner of bygone ages.

Excursus I.

The August Discernment (may God exalt it!) must know that every being which inhabits the Universe falls necessarily into one of two categories. Either it is a being which is self-existent, and is called '*the Necessarily Existent,*' which is God Almighty, great is His Glory, who existeth by virtue of Himself, and who, therefore, hath existed for ever, since He dependeth not on aught else; and who was always, since He subsisteth by Himself, not by another. But that existence whose being is through another is called '*Contingent Being,*' and this is such as we are, since our being is from the seed, and the seed is from the blood, and the blood is from food, and food is from the sun, the earth, the water and the air, which in turn are from something else; and all these are such as yesterday were not, and to-morrow will not be. Now when reflection is carried to the uttermost, it appeareth that this Causal Nexus reacheth upwards to a Cause which deriveth not its being from another, but existeth by itself; and that the Creator is all, and from Him all deriveth its existence and subsistence. And when this matter is somewhat pondered, it will become clear that

[1] Qur'án, iv, 62.

Phenomena consist of Being tinctured with Not-being, while He IS by a continuity which reaches from Eternity Past to Eternity to come. And since the essence of Phenomena is of Not-being, they must inevitably return again to nothing; and again, as touching the basis of the human race,[1] it is said, "*Everything shall return unto its Origin,*" more especially in this world of Becoming and Decay. Therefore we, who are contingent in our being, have our origin in Not-being; while He, who existeth necessarily, is the Essence of Being, even as He (glorious is His state) saith in the Perspicuous Word and Firm Support, "*All things perish save His Countenance.*"[2]

Now you must know that this world lies in the hollow of the Heaven of the Moon[3] and within the circle of this first sphere, and is called "the World of Becoming and Decay." And you must thus conceive it, that within the concavity of the Heaven of the Moon lies the Orb of Fire, round about which extends the Heaven of the Moon; and that within the Heaven of Fire is the Air, surrounded by the Fire, and within the Air is the Water, surrounded by the Air, while within the Water is the earth, with the Water round about it. And in the midst of the earth is an imaginary point, from which all straight lines drawn to the Heaven of the Moon are equal; and when we speak of "down," we mean this point and what lies nearest to it; and when we speak of "up," we mean the sphere of the remotest heaven, together with what lies nearest to it, this being a heaven[4] above the Zodiacal Heaven, having naught beyond it, for with it the material world terminates, or comes to an end.

[1] I here follow L., which has: و نیز در بنیان زمرهٔ انسان گفته اند. A. has نبیّان, "the Prophets of the human race have said."

[2] Qur'án, xxviii, 88.

[3] This is the lowest or innermost of the nine celestial spheres which environ the earth. Concerning the Muslim Cosmogony, see Dieterici's *Makrokosmos*, p. 178 et seqq.

[4] This outermost, or ninth, celestial sphere is the *Primum mobile* of the Ptolemaic system, the *Falaku'l-Aṭlas* or *Falaku'l-Aflák* of the Muslim philosophers.

Now when God Almighty, by His effective Wisdom, desired to produce in this world minerals, plants, animals, and men, He created the stars, and in particular the sun and moon, whereon he made the growth and decay of these to depend. And the special property of the sun is this, that by its reflection it warms all things when it stands over against them, and supplies them through a medium with heat, and draws them up—that is, attracts them. So, by its juxtaposition, it warmed the water; and by means of the warmth, attracted it; until, in a long while, it laid bare one quarter or more of the earth's surface, by reason of the much vapour which ascended and rose up therefrom. Now the nature of the water is this, that it can become stone, as it is well known to do in certain places, as may be actually witnessed.[1] So mountains were produced from the water and the shining of the sun; and hereby the earth became somewhat raised from what it was, while the water sank and dried up, according to that fashion which is witnessed. This portion, therefore, is called '*the Uncovered Quarter*,' for the reason above stated; and it is also called '*the Inhabited Quarter*,' because animals dwell therein.

Excursus II.

When the influences of these stars had acted on the whole of[2] these elements, they were reflected back from the midst of the earth and water, from that imaginary point [mentioned above], by the aid of the fire and wind, and the phenomena of the inorganic world were produced, such as mountains and mines, clouds, lightning, thunder, thunderbolts, shooting stars, comets, meteors, ... ,[3] halos, conflagrations, earthquakes, and all manner of

[1] The author alludes either to petrifaction and the formation of stalactites, or to ice.

[2] A., B., در اقطار, "on [all] parts." L. has و قسط, which seems to me to be nonsense.

[3] A., B., L. add وعصی, a word of which I have been unable to ascertain the meaning.

fountains, as has been fully explained in works treating of the effects of the celestial bodies, but for the explanation and discussion of which there is no room in this brief manual. But when time began, and the cycles of heaven became continuous, and the composition of this lower world became matured, and the time was come for the fertilization of that interspace which lay between the water and the air, the vegetable world was manifested. Then God, blessed and exalted is He, created for that substance whereby the plants were made manifest four subservient forces and three faculties. Of these four subservient forces, one was that which kept drawing to it whatever was suitable for its purpose, and this is called 'Attraction' (*Jádhiba*). Another keeps what the first may have attracted, and this is called 'Fixation' (*Másika*). The third is that which assimilates what has been attracted, and transmutes it from its former state until it becomes like unto itself, and this is called 'Assimilation' (*Hádima*). The fourth is that which rejects what is not appropriate, and is called 'Excretion' (*Dáfi'a*). And of the three faculties, one is that which increaseth it by diffusing throughout it nutritious matters with a suitable and equal diffusion. The second is that which accompanies this nutriment until it reaches the extremities. The third is that which, when the organism has attained perfection and begins to tend towards defect, appears and produces germs, in order that, if destruction overtake the parent in this world, these may become its substitute and representative, so that the order of the world may be guarded from detriment, and the species may not cease. This is called the 'Reproductive Faculty' (*Quwwat-i-Muwallida*).

So this kingdom rose superior to the mineral and vegetable kingdoms in these several ways which have been mentioned; and the far-reaching Wisdom of the Creator so ordained, that these kingdoms should be connected successively and continuously, so that in the mineral kingdom the first thing which attained completeness and underwent the process of evolution became higher in organization until it grew to coral (*marján*, i.e. *bussad*), which is the ultimate term of

the mineral world,[1] until it was connected with the first stage of plant life. And the first thing in the vegetable kingdom is the thorn, and the last the date-palm, which has been assimilated to the animal kingdom, since it needs the male to fertilize it so that it may bear fruit;[2] while another [member of this kingdom] flees from its foe, for the vine flees from the *'ashaqa*,[3] a plant which, when it twists round the vine, causes it to shrivel up. In the vegetable kingdom, therefore, there is nothing higher than the date-palm and the vine, inasmuch as they are connected with the superior kingdom, and have outstepped the limits of their own world, and have evolved themselves in a higher direction.

Excursus III.

Now when this kingdom had attained perfection, and the influence of the 'Fathers' of the upper world had worked on the 'Mothers'[4] below, and these had assumed a finer temper, and the interspace between the air and the fire became involved, and a finer offspring resulted, the manifestation of the animal world took place. This took to itself the faculties possessed by the vegetable kingdom, and added thereunto two others, one the faculty of discovery, which is called the 'Perceptive Faculty' (*Mudrika*), whereby the animal discerns things; the second the power of voluntary movement, by the help of which the animal moves automatically, approaching that which is agreeable to it and retreating from that which is offensive to it; and this is called the 'Motor Faculty' (*Muḥarrika*).

Now the *Perceptive Faculty* is subdivided into ten branches, five of which are called the *External Senses* and five the *Internal Senses*. The former are *Touch*, *Taste*, *Hearing*, *Sight*,

[1] The Pearl, however, seems generally to be placed higher. See Dieterici's *Mikrokosmos*, p. 11.

[2] See Dieterici's *Mikrokosmos*, p. 25.

[3] A species of *Dolichos*. See Lane's Arabic Lexicon, s.v.

[4] By the 'Seven Fathers above' and the 'Four Mothers below' the seven planets and the four elements are intended.

and *Smell*. Now *Touch* is a sense distributed throughout the flesh and skin of the animal, so that the nerves perceive and discern anything which touches it, such as dryness and moisture, heat and cold, roughness and smoothness, harshness and softness. *Taste* is a sense located in that nerve which is distributed over the surface of the tongue, which apprehends tastes and dissolved flavours from those bodies which come in contact with it; and it is this sense which discriminates between sweet and bitter, sharp and sour, and the like of these. *Hearing* is a sense located in the nerve which is distributed about the auditory meatus, so that it detects any sound which is discharged against it by undulations of the air compressed between two impinging bodies, that is to say, two bodies brought into contact with one another, by the impact of which the air is thrown into waves and becomes the cause of sound, inasmuch as it acts upon the air which is stationary in the auditory meatus, comes into contact with it, reaches this nerve, and gives rise to the sensation of hearing. *Sight* is a faculty located in two nerve-bulbs, which discerns images projected on the crystalline humour, whether of figures or solid bodies, variously coloured by the medium of a translucent substance which subsists between it and the surfaces of reflecting bodies. *Smell* is a faculty located in a protuberance situated in the fore part of the brain and resembling the nipple of the female breast, which apprehends what the air inhaled brings to it of odours mingled with the vapours wafted by air-currents, or what is impressed upon it by diffusion from the odorific body.

The Five Internal Senses.[1] Now as to the Internal Senses, some are such as perceive sense-impressions, while others are such as apprehend ideas. The first is the 'Composite Sense' (*Hiss-i-mushtarika*), which is a faculty located in the anterior ventricles of the brain, and receptive into itself of any image apprehended by the external senses, or impressed upon them for communication to it, such

[1] See my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 144, 145.

perception being apprehended only when received by it. The second is the Imagination (*Khayál*), a faculty located in the posterior ventricles of the second convolution of the brain, which preserves what the *Composite Sense* has apprehended from the external senses, so that this remains in it after the subsidence of the sense-impressions. The third is the 'Imaginative Faculty' (*Mutakhayyila*), thus called when animals are under discussion, but, in the case of the human soul, named the 'Cogitative Faculty' (*Mutafakkira*). This is a faculty located in the middle ventricle of the brain, whose function it is to co-ordinate with one another, and to preserve, those particular percepts which are stored in the *Imagination*, and to keep them distinct from one another by the control of thought. The fourth is the 'Apprehensive Faculty' (*Wáhima*), which is a faculty located in the extremity of the middle ventricle of the brain. Its function is to discover the supra-sensual ideas existing in particular percepts. By it the kid distinguishes between its dam and a wolf, and the child between a piece of rope and a serpent. The fifth is the 'Retentive Faculty' (*Ḥáfiḍha*), also called the 'Memory' (*Dhákira*), which is a faculty located in the posterior ventricle of the brain. It preserves those supra-sensual ideas discovered by the *Apprehension*; between which and itself the same relation subsists as between the *Imagination* and the *Composite Sense*, though the latter preserves forms and the former ideas.

Now all these are the servants of the *Animal Soul*, a substance having its well-spring in the heart, which, when it acts in the heart, is called the *Animal Spirit*, but when in the brain, the *Psychic Spirit*, and when in the liver, the *Natural Spirit*. It is a subtle vapour which rises from the blood, diffuses itself to the remotest arteries, and resembles the sun in luminosity. Every animal which possesses these Perceptive and Motor faculties, and these ten subordinate faculties derived therefrom, is called a perfect animal; but if any faculty is lacking in it, defective. Thus the snake has no ears, the ant no eyes, and these two are called deaf and blind; but none is more defective than the maggot,

which is a red worm found in the mud of streams,[1] called therefore *gil-khwára* ('mud-eater'), but in Transoxania *Za'ák-kirma* (?).[2] This is the lowest animal, while the highest is the satyr (*nasnás*),[3] a creature inhabiting the plains of Turkistán, of erect carriage, of vertical stature, with wide flat nails. It cherishes a great affection for men; wherever it sees them, it halts on their path and examines them attentively; and when it finds a solitary man, it carries him off; nay, it is even said that it will conceive from him. This, after mankind, is the highest of animals, inasmuch as in several respects it resembles man; first, in its erect stature; secondly, in the breadth of its nails and in the hair of its head.

Anecdote i.

I heard as follows from Abú Riḍá b. 'Abdu's-Salám of Níshápúr, in the Great Mosque at Níshápúr, in the year A.H. 510 (=A.D. 1116–1117):—"We were travelling towards Tamgháj,[4] and in our caravan were several thousand camels. One day, when we were marching in the midday heat, we saw on a hillock a woman, bare-headed, extremely beautiful in form, with a figure like a cypress, a face like the moon, and long hair, standing and looking at us. Although I spoke to her, she made no reply; and when I approached her, she fled, running so swiftly in her flight that no horse could overtake her. Our guides,[5] who were

[1] Cf. Dieterici's *Mikrokosmos*, p. 43.

[2] A. reads زعاک کرمه, B. زعاک کرمه, L. زعاک گربه.

[3] The term *nasnás* either denotes a real animal or a fabulous monster. In the first sense it is used of various kinds of monkeys, e.g. the orang-outang and marmoset; in the latter it is equivalent to the *Shiqq* or Half-man (which resembles a man cut in two vertically) of the Arabs, and the *Dív-mardum* of the Persians. See Qazwíní's *'Ajá'ibu'l-Makhlúqát*, p. 449; and my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 165, 267.

[4] See Qazwíní's *A'thāru'l-Bilád*, p. 275.

[5] The meaning of this word is conjectural. The sentence runs in A.: و کِری کشان ما ترکان بودند . . B. has و کرای کشان, otherwise the same as A. In L. the sentence runs: و کوی کشان تا برکان بودند.

Turks, said that this was a wild man, such as they call *nasnás.*"

Now you must know that it is nobler than other animals in these three respects which have been mentioned.

So when, by lapse of long ages and time, organization waxes more delicate, the moment comes for that interaction which takes place between the elements and the heavens, and man comes into being, bringing with him all that existed in the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, to which is added the capacity for intellectual concepts. So he becomes king over all, and brings all things under his control. For from the mineral world he made jewels, gold and silver his embellishment and adornment, while from iron, tin, copper, and lead he fashioned utensils for his use. From the vegetable kingdom also he made his food and raiment and carpets; and from the animal world he provided himself with steeds and beasts of burden. Moreover, from all three kingdoms he chose out medicaments wherewith to heal himself. Whence did there accrue to him all this superiority? By this, that he knew himself, and, by means of intellectual concepts, knew God. "*He who knoweth himself, knoweth his Lord.*"

So this kingdom [of man] became divided into three classes. The first is that class which is proximate to the Animal Kingdom, such as the wild men of the waste and the mountain, whose intelligence doth not more than suffice to secure their own livelihood, seek their own advantage, and ward off what is to their detriment. The second class compriseth the inhabitants of towns and cities, who possess civilization, mutually assist one another, and discover crafts and arts; but whose scientific attainments are limited to the organizing of such association as subsists between them, to the end that the different classes[1] may continue to exist. The third class comprises such as are independent of these things, whose occupation, by night and by day, in secret and in public, is to reflect, "Who

[1] Or perhaps "races." The word is انواع.

are we; for what reason did we come into existence, and who hath brought us into being?" In other words they hold debate concerning the real essences of things, reflect on their coming, and anxiously consider their departure, saying, "How have we come? Whither do we go?"

This class, again, is subdivided into two sorts; first, those who reach the essence of this object by means of masters, by laborious toil and absorption, and by reading and writing; and such are called *philosophers*. But there is yet another sort who, without master or book, reach the extreme limit of this problem, and these are called *prophets*.

Now, the peculiar virtues of the Prophet are three: first, that, without instruction, he knows all knowledges; secondly, that he gives information concerning yesterday and to-morrow otherwise than by analogical reasoning; and thirdly, that his soul hath such power that from whatever body he will he taketh the form and produceth another form, which thing none can do save such as are conformed to the Angelic World. Therefore in the Human World none is above him, and his command is effective for the well-being of the world; for whatever they have, he has, while possessing also an additional qualification which they have not, that is to say, communion with the Angelic World. This additional qualification is in brief termed the *Prophetic Function*, and is in detail such as we have explained.

Now, so long as such a man lives, he points out to his people what things conduce to well-being in both worlds, by the Command of God, glorious is His Name, communicated to him by means of the Angels. But when, by natural dissolution, he turns his face towards the other world, he leaves behind him a Code derived from the indications of God Almighty and his own sayings. And assuredly he requires to act as his substitute, and to maintain his Law and Practice, a vicegerent, who must needs be the most excellent of mankind and the most perfect product of his age, in order that he may revive this Law and carry out this Practice; and such an one

is called an *Imám*. This Imám can cope with the disasters of the East and the West, the North and the South, in such wise that the effects of his care extend alike to the most remote and the nearest, while his command and prohibition reach alike the intelligent and the ignorant. But he must needs have vicars to act for him in distant parts of the world, and not every one of these will have such power that all mankind shall be compelled to admit it. Hence there must be a leader, an administrator, a compeller, which administrator and compeller is called a *Monarch*, that is to say, a *King*; and his vicarious function *Sovereignty*. The King, therefore, is the lieutenant of the Imám, the Imám of the Prophet, and the Prophet of God (mighty and glorious is He!).

Well has it been said on this subject:

چنان دان که شاهی و پیغمبری ' دو گوهر بود در یک انگشتری '

"Then know that the functions of Prophet and King
Are set side by side like two stones in one ring."

Know, therefore, that the Regal and Prophetic offices are as two jewels in one ring, for the Prince of the sons of men himself hath said *"State and Church are twins,"* since in form and essence neither differs, either as regards increase or defect, from the other. So, by virtue of this decree, no burden, after the Prophetic office, is weightier than Sovereignty, nor any function more laborious than that of governing. Hence a king needs round about him, as men on whose counsel, judgement, and deliberations depend the loosing and binding of the world, and the well-being and ill-being of the servants of God Almighty, such as are in every case the most excellent and most perfect of their time.

Now of the special ministers of Kings are the Secretary, the Poet, the Astrologer, and the Physician, and these can in no wise be dispensed with. For the maintenance of the administration is by the Secretary; the perpetuation of immortal renown by the Poet; the ordering of affairs by the Astrologer; and the health of the body by the Physician.

These four arduous functions and noble arts are amongst the branches of the Science of Philosophy; the functions of the Scribe and the Poet being branches of the Science of Logic; that of the Astrologer, one of the principal subdivisions of Mathematics; while the Physician's Art is amongst the branches of Natural Science. This book, therefore, comprises *Four Discourses*, to wit:—

First Discourse, on the essence of the Secretarial Art, and the nature of the Secretary.

Second Discourse, on the essence of the Poetic Art, and what it behoves the Poet to be.

Third Discourse, on the essence of the Science of Astrology, and the distinguishing signs of the Astrologer.

Fourth Discourse, on the essence of the Science of Medicine, and the function and nature of the Physician.

In all these divisions of Philosophy, then, that will be advanced which is appropriate to this book; and thereafter ten pleasing anecdotes, of the choicest connected with that subject and the rarest germane to that topic, of what hath befallen persons of the class under discussion, will be added, in order that it may become plainly known to the King that the Secretarial Office is not a trivial matter; that the Poetic Calling is no mean occupation; that Astrology is a necessary Science; that Medicine is indispensable; and that the wise King cannot do without these four persons—the Scribe, the Poet, the Astrologer, and the Physician.

First Discourse.

On the Essence of the Secretarial Function and the Nature of the Perfect Scribe.

The Secretarial Function is an art comprising reasoned modes of address and communication, and teaching the forms of address employed amongst men in correspondence, consultation, contention, eulogy, condemnation, diplomacy, provocation, and conciliation, as well as in magnifying

matters or minimizing them; contriving means of excuse or censure; imposing covenants; recording antecedents; and displaying, in every case, orderly arrangement, so that all may be enunciated primarily and finally.[1]

Hence the Secretary must be of gentle birth, of refined honour, of penetrating discernment, of profound reflection, and of firm judgement; and the amplest portion and fullest share of the methods and attainments of this art must be his. Neither must he be remote from, or unacquainted with, logical judgements; and he must know the ranks of his contemporaries, and be familiar with the dignities of the leading men of his time. Moreover, he should not be absorbed in the wealth and perishable goods of this world; nor concern himself with the approval or condemnation of prejudiced persons and tattlers, or pay any heed to them; and he should, when exercising his secretarial functions, guard the honour of his master from degrading situations and dangerous practices. And in the course of his letter, while pursuing his duties of correspondence, he should not quarrel with eminent and powerful personages; and, even though enmity subsist between his master and the person whom he is addressing, he should restrain his pen, and not attack him, save in the case of one who may have overstepped his own proper limit, or advanced his foot beyond the circle of respect, for they say: "*One for one,*[2] *and he who begins is most in the wrong.*"

And in his forms of address he should observe moderation, writing to each person that which befits his position, whereunto his kingdom, domain, army, and treasure are a guide; save in the case of one who may himself have fallen short in this matter, or made display of undue pride, or neglected some point of courtesy, or manifested an arrogance which reason cannot regard otherwise than as misplaced in such

[1] i.e. "once and for all," with such clearness as to leave no ambiguity, or ground for future dispute.

[2] واحدٌ بواحدٍ و البادى اظلم, i.e., "Tit for tat, and the aggressor is most to blame."

correspondence, and unsuitable in epistolary communications. In such cases it is permitted and allowed to the Scribe to take up his pen, set his best foot forward, and in this pass go to the extreme limit and utmost bound, for they say: "*Haughtiness towards the haughty is a good work.*"[1] But in no case must he suffer any dust from the atmosphere of conflict in this arena of correspondence to alight on the skirt of his master's honour; and in the setting forth of his message he must adopt that method which the orators of the Arabs have thus described: "*The best speech is that which is brief and significant, and not wearisome.*"[2] For if the ideas accord not with the words, the discussion will be protracted, and the Scribe will be stigmatized as prolix, and "*He who is prolix is a babbler.*"[3]

Now the words of the Scribe will not attain to this elevation until he becomes familiar with every science, obtains some hint from every master, hears some aphorism from every philosopher, and borrows some elegance from every man of letters. Therefore he must accustom himself to peruse the Scripture of the Lord of Glory, the Traditions of Muḥammad the Chosen One (on whom, and on whose family, be God's blessing and peace), the Memoirs of the Companions, the proverbial sayings of the Arabs, and the wise words of the Persians; and to read the books of the ancients, and to study the writings of their successors, such as the *Correspondence* of the Ṣáḥib Isma'íl ibn 'Abbád[4] and Ṣábí; the *Qábús-náma*[5]; the compositions of Ḥamádí, Laqání, and Ibn Qudáma[6]; the *Gests* of Badí'u'z-Zamán

[1] التكبّر مع المتكبّر صدقة .

[2] خَيْر الكلام ما قلّ ودلّ و لم يُمَلّ .

[3] المكثار مهذار .

[4] See the *Yatímatu'd-Dahr* (ed. Damascus), vol. iii, pp. 31–112; De Slane's *Ibn Kallikán*, vol. i, pp. 212–217. L. omits "and Ṣábí."

[5] Composed by Kayká'ús b. Iskandar b. Qábús, b. Washmgír in A.H. 475 (A.D. 1082–3). See Pertsch's *Cat. of Berlin Persian MSS.*, pp. 302–3.

[6] See Von Kremer's *Culturgesch.*, i, pp. 269, 270.

al-Hamadání,[1] al-Ḥaríri,[1] and al-Ḥamídí[2]; the *Rescripts* of al-Bal'amí,[3] Aḥmad-i-Ḥasan,[4] and Abú Naṣr Kunduri[5]; the *Letters* of Muḥammad 'Abd, 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd, and the Sayyidu'r-Ru'asá; the *Séances* of Muḥammad-i-Manṣúr,[6] Ibn 'Abbádí,[7] and Ibnu'n-Nassába, the descendant of 'Alí; and, of the poetical works of the Arabs, the *Díwáns* of Mutanabbí,[8] Abíwardí,[9] and Ghazzí[10]; and, amongst the Persian poets, the poems of Ḥakím Rúdagí,[11] the Epic of Firdawsí,[12] and the panegyrics of 'Unṣurí[13]; since each one of these works which we have enumerated was, after its kind, the incomparable and unique product of its time; and every scribe who hath these books, and stimulates his mind, polishes his wit, and enkindles his fancy by their perusal, will ever raise the level of his diction, whereby a scribe becomes famous.

Now if he be well acquainted with the Qur'án, with one verse therefrom he may discharge his obligation to a whole realm, as did Iskáfí.[14]

[1] See Von Kremer's *Culturgesch.*, ii, pp. 470–476; Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, pp. 93–94 and 276–278.

[2] See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, vol. ii, pp. 747–8, where a very fine old MS. of the *Maqámát-i-Ḥamídí*, written in the thirteenth century of our era, is described.

[3] Abú 'Alí Muḥammad al-Bal'amí (d. A.H. 386).

[4] The Ghaznavid Minister, Aḥmad b. Ḥasan of Maymand (d. A.H. 424), is probably meant.

[5] See De Slane's *Ibn Khallikán*, vol. iii, pp. 290–295.

[6] Probably Muḥammad b. Manṣúr al-Ḥaddád. See *H Kh.*, No. 1,729.

[7] Abú 'Á'ṣim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-'Abbádí (see Rieu's *Arabic Suppl.*, p. 755), who died A.H. 458, is probably intended.

[8] See Von Kremer's *Culturgesch.*, ii, pp. 380, 381; Brockelmann's *Arab. Litt.*, pp. 86–89.

[9] See Brockelmann's *Arab. Litt.*, p. 253; and the *Yatíma*, vol. iv, pp. 25 and 62–64, where mention is made of two Abíwardís.

[10] Brockelmann, op. cit., p. 253. A., however, reads عزّي.

[11] See Ethé's monograph, and also his article on Rúdagí in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

[12] See especially Noeldeke's *D. Iranische Nationalepos* in vol. ii (pp. 130–211) of Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss d. Iranischen Philologie*.

[13] See Ethé in the same *Grundriss*, pp. 224, 225.

[14] Abu'l-Qásim 'Alí b. Muḥammad al-Iskáfí. See *Yatíma*, vol. iv, pp. 29–33; iii, 4.

Anecdote ii.

Iskáfí was one of the secretaries of the House of Sámán, and knew his craft right well, so that he could cunningly traverse all obstacles, and emerge triumphant from the most difficult passes. He discharged the duties of secretary in the Chancellery of Núḥ b. Manṣúr,[1] but they did not properly recognize his worth, or bestow on him favours adequate to his pre-eminence. He therefore fled from Bukhárá to Alptagín at Herát. Alptagín, a Turk, wise and discerning, made much of him, and confided to him the Chancellery, so that at length he became one of his ministers. Now because there had sprung up at the court a new nobility who made light of the old nobles, while Alptagín patiently bore their presumption, matters at last culminated in rebellion, by reason of some slight put upon him. Then Amír Núḥ, incited by a party of the new nobles, wrote from Bukhárá to Zábulistán that Sabuktagín should come with that army, and the sons of Simjúr[2] with their army from Níshápúr, and should make war on Alptagín. And this war is very celebrated, and the event most notorious.

So when these armies reached Herát, the Amír 'Alí b. Muḥtáj[3] sent Kisá'í,[4] who was the Chief Chamberlain (*Ṣáḥibu'l-Báb*), to Alptagín, with a letter like fire and water blended together, containing threats and menaces which left no room for peace and no way for conciliation, such as an angry master might write in his absence to his disobedient

[1] This seems to be an error (though it stands thus in all three copies) for Manṣúr b. Núḥ (Manṣúr I), who reigned A.H. 350–366; for Núḥ b. Manṣúr (Núḥ II) reigned A.H. 366–387, and Alptagín died in A.H. 352 or 354. Concerning the *Diwánu'r-Rasá'il*, see Von Kremer's *Culturgeschicht. d. Arab.*, i. pp. 174, 200; and A. de B. Kazimirski's *Menoutchehri*, pp. 36 and 43. According to Ibnu'l-Athír (Buláq ed. of A.H. 1303, vol. viii, p. 179), Alptagín's revolt took place in A.H. 351.

[2] See Defrémery's *Hist. des Samanides*, pp. 260, 261.

[3] Concerning this general, see Defrémery's *Hist. des Samanides*, p. 248.

[4] A. has الكشاى both here and in l. 4 of the next page, and in the second place adds *'Alí b. Muḥtáj* after *Abu'l-Ḥasan*.

servants, the whole letter filled with such expressions as "I will come," "I will take," "I will bind," "I will strike," "I will slay." When the Chamberlain Abu'l-Ḥasan Kisá'í submitted this letter and delivered the message, not withholding aught, Alptagín, who was already vexed, grew more vexed, and broke out in anger, saying: "I was his father's servant, but when my master passed from this transitory to that eternal abode, he entrusted him to me, not me to him. Although, to outward seeming, I should obey him, it is in fact quite otherwise, for when you examine this matter, a contrary conclusion results, seeing that I am in the last stages of old age, and he in the first stages of youth. Those who have impelled him to act thus are destroyers of this Dynasty, not counsellors, and are overthrowers of this house, not supporters."

Then he asked of Iskáfí, "How wilt thou answer this letter?" Iskáfí, on the spur of the moment, wrote the first draft of the answer as follows:—

"*In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Clement. O Núḥ, thou hast contended with us and made great the contention with us. Produce, then, that wherewith thou threatenest us, if thou art of those who speak truly.*" [1]

When this letter reached Núḥ b. Manṣúr, the Amír of Khurásán, he read it, and was astonished; and all the gentlemen of the court were filled with amaze, and the scribes bit their fingers in wonder. And when the affair of Alptagín was disposed of, Iskáfí fled away privily, for he was fearful and terrified; until suddenly Núḥ sent a messenger to him to summon him to his presence, and conferred on him the post of Secretary. So his affairs prospered, and he became conspicuous and famous amongst the votaries of the Pen. Had he not known the Qur'án, he would not thus have distinguished himself on this occasion, nor would his position have risen from the station he occupied to this high degree.

[1] Qur'án, xi, 34.

Anecdote iii.

When Iskáfí's affairs waxed thus prosperous, and he became established in the service of Núḥ b. Manṣúr, Mákán the son of Kákí[1] rebelled at Ray and in Kúhistán, withdrew his neck from the yoke of obedience, sent his agents to Khwár, Samnán and Simnak, captured several of the towns of Kúmish,[2] and paid no heed to the Sámánids. Núḥ b. Manṣúr was afraid, because this was a formidable and able man, and set himself to deal with this matter. He therefore ordered Tásh, the commander-in-chief, to march against him with seven thousand horsemen, suppress this sedition, and put an end to this grave incident in whatever way he deemed most expedient.

Now Tásh was very wise and clear in judgement, emerging swiftly and skilfully from the straitest passes; and he was also victorious in warfare, and had never turned back in defeat from any one of the countless battles he had waged, nor come forth worsted from any campaign. While he lived, the dominion and authority of the House of Sámán enjoyed the greatest brilliancy and prosperity.

On this occasion, then, the Amír, being much preoccupied and distressed, sent a messenger to summon Iskáfí, and held a private interview with him. "I am greatly troubled," said he, "by this occurrence; for Mákán is a brave man, and an able, and hath, in addition to his bravery and courage, administrative capacity and generosity, so that there have been few like him amongst the Daylamís. You must co-operate with Tásh, and whatever he lacks for the raising of an army at this juncture, you must supply.

[1] The chronological difficulties involved in these two stories are considerable, for the rebellion of Mákán b. Kákí occurred in A.H. 329, towards the end of the reign of Naṣr II b. Aḥmad, i.e. long before the rebellion of Alptagín (see n. 1 on p. 638, *supra*). See Defrémery's *Samanides*, pp. 248 and 263–4.

[2] Better known as *Qúmis*, the Arabicized form of the name. See B. de Meynard's *Dict. Géogr., Histor., et Litt. de la Perse*, pp. 464–5. For the three other towns mentioned, see the same work, pp. 213, 317, and 318.

And I will establish myself at Nísháṕúr, so that the army may be supported from the base, and the foeman discouraged. Every day a swift messenger must come from you to me with dispatches, wherein you must set forth the pith of what may have happened, so that my anxieties may be assuaged." Iskáfí bowed and said, "I will obey."

So next day Tásh unfurled his standard, sounded his drums, and set out for the front from Bukhárá, crossing the Oxus with seven thousand horsemen; while the Amír followed him with the remainder of the army to Nísháṕúr. There he invested Tásh and the army with robes of honour; and Tásh, raising his standard, marched into Bayhaq, whence he marched forwards into Kúmish to confront the enemy, with fixed purpose and in the best of spirits.

Meanwhile Mákán, with ten thousand mailed men, was encamped at the gates of Ray, where he had taken up his position. Tásh arrived, passed by the city, and encamped over against him. Then messengers passed to and fro between them, but no settlement was effected, for Mákán was puffed up with pride on account of that formidable army which he had gathered together from every quarter. It was therefore decided that they should join battle.

Now Tásh was an aged warrior, who for forty years had held the position of commander-in-chief, and had witnessed many such engagements; and he so manœuvred that when the two armies met, and the doughty warriors and champions of Transoxania and Khurásán moved forward from the centre, only half of Mákán's army was engaged, while the rest were not fighting. Mákán was slain, and Tásh, when he had ceased from taking and binding and slaying, turned to Iskáfí and said, "A carrier-pigeon must be sent in advance, to be followed later by a courier: but all the main features of the battle must be summed up in one sentence, which shall indicate all the circumstances, yet shall not exceed what a pigeon can carry, and shall adequately express our meaning."

Then Iskáfí took so much paper as two fingers would cover and wrote:—"*In the Name of God, the Merciful, the*

Clement. As for Mákán, he hath become as his name" [1] [*Má kán* = "He hath not been" in Arabic]. By this "*má*" he intended the negative, and by "*kán*," the verb substantive, so that the Persian of it would be, "Mákán hath become like his name," that is to say, hath become nothing.

When the carrier-pigeon reached the Amír Núḥ, he was not more delighted at the victory than at this dispatch, and he ordered Iskáfí's salary to be increased, saying: "Such a person must maintain a heart free from care in order to attain to such delicacies of expression." [2]

Anecdote iv.

One who pursues any craft which depends on reflection ought to be free from care and anxiety, for if it be otherwise, the arrows of his thought will fly wide and will not hit the target of achievement, since only by a tranquil mind can one arrive at such words.

It is related that a certain Secretary of the 'Abbásid Caliphs was writing a letter to the governor of Egypt; and, his mind being tranquil and himself submerged in the ocean of reflection, was forming sentences precious as pearls of great price and fluent as running water. Suddenly his maidservant entered, saying, "There is no flour left." The scribe was so put out and disturbed in mind that he lost the thread of his diction, and was so affected that he wrote in the letter "There is no flour left." When he had finished it, he sent it to the Caliph, having no knowledge of these words which he had written.

When the letter reached the Caliph, and he read it, and saw this sentence, he was greatly astonished, being unable to account for so strange an occurrence. So he sent a messenger to summon the scribe, and enquired of him

[1] امّا ماکان فصار کاسمه .

[2] The substance of this anecdote is given in the *Tárikh-i-Guzida*, and is cited by Defrémery at pp. 247–8 of his *Histoire des Samanides* (Paris, 1845).

concerning this. The scribe was covered with shame, and gave the true explanation of the matter. The Caliph was mightily astonished and said: "The beginning of this letter excels the latter part by as much as the súra '*Say, He is God, the One*'[1] excels the súra '*The hands of Abú Lahab shall perish*,'[2] and it is a pity to surrender the minds of eloquent men like you into the hands of the struggle for the necessaries of life." Then he ordered him to be given means sufficiently ample to prevent such an announcement as this from ever entering his ears again. Naturally it then happened that he could compress into two sentences the ideas of two worlds.

Anecdote v.

The Ṣáḥib Isma'íl ibn 'Abbád,[3] entitled *al-Káfí* ("the Competent"), of Ray,[4] was minister to the Sháhansháh. He was most perfect in his accomplishments, of which fact his correspondence and his poetry are two sufficient witnesses and unimpeachable arbiters.

Now the Ṣáḥib was a man of just dealings, and such are wont to be extremely pious and scrupulous in their religious duties, not holding it right that a true believer should abide eternally in hell by reason of a grain of [righteous] enmity; and his servants and retainers and agents for the most part followed his example.

Now there was at Qum a judge appointed by the Ṣáḥib in whose godliness and piety he had the firmest belief, though there were some who asserted the contrary, and brought information against him, which, however, left the Ṣáḥib unconvinced, until certain trustworthy persons of Qum, whose statements commanded credence, declared that

[1] Qur'án, cxii.
[2] Qur'án, cxi.
[3] For an account of this great minister and generous patron of literature, see De Slane's translation of *Ibn Khallikán*, vol. i, pp. 212–217, and n. 4 on p. 636, *supra*.
[4] So B. Both A. and L. have الوادى.

in a certain suit between So-and-so and Such-an-one this judge had accepted a bribe of five hundred *túmáns*. This was mightily displeasing to the Ṣáḥib for two reasons, first on account of the greatness of the bribe, and secondly on account of the shameless unscrupulousness of the judge. He at once took up his pen and wrote:—

"*In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Clement. O Judge of Qum! We dismiss you, so Come!*"[1]

Scholars and rhetoricians will notice and appreciate the high merit of this sentence in respect of its brevity, concision, and clearness, and naturally from that time forth rhetoricians and stylists have inscribed this epigram on their hearts, and repeat it to the people of the world.

Anecdote vi.

Lamghán[2] is a city in the district of Sind, one of the dependencies of Ghazna; and at this present time naught but one range of mountains separates its inhabitants from the heathen, so that they live in constant dread of the attacks and raids of the unbelievers. Yet the men of Lamghán are of good courage, sharp and frugal, and combining with their sharpness no small rascality,[3] to such a degree that they think nothing of lodging a complaint against a tax-gatherer on account of a maund of chaff or a single egg; while for even less than this they were ready to come to Ghazna to complain of exactions, and would remain there one or two months, and then return without having accomplished their object. In short, they are wonderful hands at patience, and are most stiffnecked in importunity.

[1] بسم الله الرّحمن الرحيم ' ايّها القاضى بقمْ قد عزلناك فقُم '.

I have endeavoured to preserve, feebly enough, the word-play in the original.

[2] Or Lámaghán. See B. de Meynard's *Dict. Géogr. de la Perse*, p. 503; Pavet de Courteille's *Mém. de Baber*, ii, pp. 120, 121.

[3] The texts differ considerably in this sentence. I follow A., which has:

امّا لمغانيان مردان بشكوه باشند و جلد و كسوب و با جلدى زعرى عظيم . . .

Now in the reign of Sulṭán Maḥmúd Yamínu'd-Dawla, the heathen one night attacked them, and damage of every sort befel them. But these were men who could raise a harvest without soil; and when this event happened several of their chiefs and men of note rose up and came to Ghazna, and, with their garments rent, their heads uncovered, and uttering loud lamentations, entered the bazaar of Ghazna, went to the King's Palace wailing and grieving, and so described their misfortune that even a stone would have been moved to tears. As their rascality, impudence, dissimulation, and cunning had not yet become apparent, that great minister, Aḥmad Ḥasan of Maymand,[1] took pity upon them, and forgave them that year's taxes, exempting them from all exactions, and bidding them return home, strive more strenuously, and spend less, so that by the beginning of the next year they might recover their former position.

So the deputation of Lamghánís returned with great contentment and huge satisfaction, and continued during that year in the easiest of circumstances, divulging their secret to no one.[2] When the year came to an end, the same deputation returned to present another petition to the minister, simply setting forth that in the past year their lord the great minister had brightened their country by his grace and clemency and had effectively extended to them his protection, so that they were now able to dwell in peace on that border; but that, since their prosperity was still somewhat shaken, they feared that, should he demand the contribution on their possessions that year, some of them would be utterly ruined, and that, as a consequence of this, loss might accrue to the royal coffers.

The minister, therefore, extending his favour, excused them the taxes of yet another year. During these two years the people of Lamghán grew rich, but this did not suffice them, for in the third year their greed reasserted

[1] See n. 4 on p. 25, *supra*.

[2] This I take to be the meaning of آب بکس نداد ند.

itself, and, hoping again to be excused, the same deputation again appeared at Court and made a similar representation. Then it became apparent to all the world that the people of Lamghán were in the wrong. So the minister turned the petition over and wrote on the back of it: "*Al-kharáju khurájun, adá'uhu dawá'uhu,*" that is to say, "*The tax is a running sore: its cure is its discharge.*" And from the time of this great statesman this saying has become proverbial, and has proved useful in many cases. May the earth rest lightly on this great man!

Anecdote vii.

There were great statesmen under the 'Abbásid dynasty, and indeed the history of the Barmecides is well known and famous, and to what extent were their gifts and rewards. [Ibn] Sahl, called *Dhu'r-Riyásatayn*[1] ("the lord of two commands"), and his brother Faḍl were exalted above the very heavens, so much so that Ma'mún espoused Faḍl's daughter and asked her in marriage. Now she was a damsel peerless in beauty and unrivalled in attainments; and it was agreed that Ma'mún should go to the bride's house and remain there for a month, and after the lapse of this period return home with the bride. On the day fixed for their departure he desired, as is customary, to array himself in better clothes. Now Ma'mún always wore black; and people supposed that he wore it because black was the distinctive colour of the 'Abbásids; till one day Yaḥyá b. Aktham[2] inquired of him, "Why is it that the Prince of Believers prefers black garments?" Ma'mún replied to the Judge: "Black garments are for man and for the living; for no woman is married in black, nor is any dead

[1] There appears to be a confusion here between the two brothers. Ḥasan ibn Sahl was the father of Púrán, al-Ma'mún's bride, while Faḍl bore the title of *Dhu'r-Riyásatayn*. See De Slane's *Ibn Khallikán*, vol. i, pp. 268–272 and 408–409; vol. ii, pp. 472–476. Also the *Laṭá'ifu'l-Ma'árif* of ath-Tha'álibí (ed. De Jong), pp. 73, 74, where a full account is given of this marriage.

[2] See De Slane's *Ibn Khallikán*, iv, pp. 33–51.

man buried in black." Yaḥyá was greatly surprised by this answer. So on this day Ma'mún desired to inspect the wardrobe; but of a thousand coats of satin, of royal fabric, of fur, hand-woven, of various colours, hand-cut, of fine black silk,[1] he neither approved nor accepted one, but clad himself in his customary black, and mounted, and turned his face towards the bride's house. Now on that day Faḍl had decked out his palace in such wise that the nobles were filled with wonder thereat, for he had collected so many rare things that words would fail to describe or enumerate them. So when Ma'mún reached the gate of this palace, he saw a curtain suspended, fairer than a Chinese spring, and more delightful than the assurance of faith, whereof the design charmed the heart and the colour mingled with the soul; and he said to himself: "Whichever of those thousand coats I had chosen, I should have been shamed here. Praise be to God and thanks that I was content with this black raiment."

Now of all the elaborate preparations made by Faḍl on that day, one was this, that when Ma'mún reached the middle of the palace yard, he saw a tray filled with wax, round which was arranged a pattern of pearls.[2] And at the feet of each guest were cast several nuts, in each of which was a piece of paper whereon was inscribed the name of a village; and whoever drew one, to him were delivered the title-deeds of that village.

So when Ma'mún entered the bride's house, he saw a mansion faced with gypsum and adorned with paintings,[3]

[1] The exact nature of most of these fabrics I have been unable to ascertain. The list runs as follows: اطلس و ملکی و تُمَم [طمیم A., B.] و نسیج و ممزّج و مقراضی و اکسون

[2] This sentence is not quite clear. It runs: پر [A., B. om. دید] طبقی کرده [بود L. om.] از موم بهیئت مروارید گرد کرده هریکی چند [چند A.] فندقی در پای او ریخت [ریختند L.].

[3] A., B. have مجصّص و منقّش. L. reads: مخصّص.

strewn with perfumes of China, fairer than the East at the time of sunrise, and sweeter than a garden in the season of the rose. He saw, moreover, cast down and spread out at the entrance of the house, mats of cloth of gold,[1] embroidered with rubies, pearls, and turquoises; and in like manner six cushions placed thereon, on which was seated a beauteous damsel sweeter than existence and life, and pleasanter than health and youth; in stature such that the noble cypress would have subscribed itself her servant; with cheeks which the brightest sun would have acknowledged as suzerain; with hair which was the envy of musk and ambergris; and with eyes after the likeness of the onyx and the narcissus.[2] She, rising to her feet, advanced towards Ma'mún, with a profound obeisance and earnest apologies, brought him forward and seated him in the chief seat, and stood before him in service. Ma'mún bade her be seated, whereupon she seated herself on her knees,[3] hanging her head and looking down at the carpet. Thereupon Ma'mún was overcome with love: he had already lost his heart, and now he would have added thereunto his very soul. He stretched out his hand and drew forth from the pocket of his coat eighteen pearls, each one as large as a sparrow's egg, brighter than the stars of heaven, more lustrous than the teeth of the fair, rounder, nay, more luminous, than Jupiter or Saturn. These rolled on the surface of the carpet, and, by reason of its smoothness and their roundness, continued in motion, there being no cause for their quiescence. But the girl paid no heed to the pearls, nor so much as raised her head. Thereat was Ma'mún's passion further increased, and he extended

[1] This sentence, again, is not clear. It runs:

. . و خانه واری حصیر از شوشهٔ زر کشیده افگنده.

[2] A., B: و چشم او از جسم جزع و عبهر بود. L. has: و چشمی چون چشم جذع و عبهر

[3] i.e., in the Persian fashion, on the heels, with the knees together in front.

his hand to caress her, and would have opened the door of amorous dalliance. But this caress aroused her modesty and covered her with confusion, and the delicate damsel was so affected that she was overtaken by that state peculiar to women, and the marks of shame and abashed modesty appeared in her cheeks and countenance, and she suddenly exclaimed: "*O Prince of Believers! The command of God cometh, seek not then to hasten it!*"[1]

Thereat Ma'mún withdrew his hand, and was near swooning on account of the extreme beauty of this citation, and her graceful application of it. Yet still he could not take his eyes off her, and for eighteen days he came not forth from this house and concerned himself with naught save two occupations. And the affairs of Faḍl prospered, and he attained to that high position to which he attained.

Anecdote viii.

Again in the time of the 'Abbásid Caliphs, in the reign of al-Mustarshid bi'lláh[2] (may God make his tomb fragrant and exalt his rank in Paradise!), the son of al-Mustadhhir bi'lláh, the Prince of Believers came forth from the city of Baghdad with a well-equipped army in full panoply, and much treasure, and many muniments of war, marching against Khurásán, on account of a reparation which he would exact from the King of the World Sanjar.[3]

Now this quarrel had been contrived by interested persons, and was due to the machinations and representations of conspirators, who had brought matters to this pass. When the Caliph reached Kirmánsháh, he there delivered on a Friday a homily which in eloquence transcended the highest zenith of the sun, and reached the support and

[1] Qur'án, xvi, 1. Cf. De Slane's *Ibn Khallikán*, vol. i, p. 270.
[2] The twenty-ninth 'Abbásid Caliph, reigned A.H. 512–529.
[3] This happened in A.H. 529. See Houtsma's *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'Histoire des Seldjoucides*, vol. ii (1889), pp. 174–178.

crown of the guard-stars.[1] In the course of this harangue, after expressing his distress and despair, he complained of the House of Seljúq, in such wise that the orators of Arabia and the rhetoricians of Persia have confessed that, after the companions of the Prophet (God's blessing and peace rest on him and his family), who were the disciples of the Focus of the Prophetic Function and the expounders of his pithy aphorisms, no one had composed a discourse so weighty and eloquent. Said al-Mustarshid: "*We entrusted our affairs to the House of Seljúq, but they contended against us, and the time lengthened over them, and their hearts were hardened, and many of them sinned,*"[2] that is to say, withdrew their necks from our commands in the Religion of Islám.

Anecdote ix.

The Gúr Khán of Khitá fought a battle with the King of the World Sanjar, the son of Maliksháh, at the gates of Samarqand, and so fateful was the day to the army of Islám that Transoxania passed into his power.[3] After putting to death the Imám of the East Ḥusámu'd-Dín (may God make bright his example, and extend over him His Peace!), the Gúr Khán bestowed Bukhárá on Alptagín.[4] When the Gúr Khán turned back, he entrusted the son of the Amír Bayánání,[5] the nephew of Atsiz Khwárazmsháh,

[1] *Farqadayn*, two bright stars near the Pole-star, β and γ of Ursa Minor. See vol. ii of my *Traveller's Narrative*, p. 125, n. 2.

[2] فوّضنا أُمورَنا الى آل سلجوق فبرزوا علينا فطال عليهم الامد فَقَسَتْ قلوبهم و كثيرٌ منهم فاسقون

[3] See Mírkhwánd's *History of the Seljúqs*, ed. Vullers, pp. 176–180. Professor Ross has pointed out to me that Gúr Khán is a generic title. See *History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, by Elias and Ross, p. 287 et seqq. See also Schefer's *Chrestomathie Persane*, vol. i, p. 34 et seqq.

[4] So L., agreeing with Schefer, op. cit., p. 29, where A.H. 536 is given as the date of this event. For *Alptagín* A. and B. read اتمتكين throughout.

[5] L. has سامانی, A. بیابانی (uncertain), B. بیانانی, but I cannot identify the name.

to the Imám Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'l-'Azíz, who was the Imám of Bukhárá, and the leading man of his time,[1] so that whatever he did he might do by his advice, and that he should not take any step without his instructions. Then the Gúr Khán turned back and retired to Bars-ján.[2]

Now his justice had no bounds, nor was there any limit to the effectiveness of his commands, and, indeed, in these two things lies the essence of kingship. But when Alptagín saw a clear field, he turned his hand to oppression, and began to levy contributions on Bukhárá. So several of the people of Bukhárá went as an embassy to the Gúr Khán[3] to seek redress. The Gúr Khán, after the way of good Muslims, wrote a letter in Persian to Alptagín as follows:—

"*In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Clement.* Let Alptagín know that, although wide distance separates us, our approval and displeasure are near at hand. Let Alptagín do that which Aḥmad commands, and Aḥmad that which Muḥammad commands. Farewell."

Again and again we have considered this and reflected on it. A thousand volumes or even more might be written to enlarge on this letter, yet its purport is extremely plain and clear, needing no explanation. Seldom have I seen anything like it.

Anecdote x.

The extreme eloquence of the Qur'án is in its concision of words and marvellous presentation of ideas; imitation thereof results but in citation, to such a degree that a sense

[1] For و پیشرَوِ زمان, A. and B. have و پسر برهان, "and the son of Burhán."

[2] Name uncertain. L. has *Zanján*, which is quite unsuitable; A., به برسجان (not clearly legible); B., بر سیجان.

[3] A. has, instead of نزد گورخان (L.'s reading), سوی برسجان; B., سوی برسیجان.

of awe is produced, and the wise and understanding man is converted from his state [of doubt]. And this is a clear proof and trenchant argument to establish the fact that this Word did not proceed from the mouth of any created being, nor issue from any human lips or tongue, but that the stamp of Eternity is the stigma of its prescriptions and sentences.

It is related that one day one of the Muslims was reciting before Walíd b. Mughíra this verse:—"*And it was said, 'O Earth, gulp down thy waters, and O Heaven, draw them up': and the water abated. Thus was the matter effected. And it [i.e. the Ark] rested upon Mount Júdí.*"[1] "By God," said Walíd b. Mughíra, "verily it hath beauty and sweetness, and verily at its highest it is terrible as a wild beast in fury, and at its lowest is as the deepest mine!"[2] When even enemies reached such a level of enthusiasm, by reason of the eloquence of the Qur'án and its incomparable height in the domain of religion and equity, to what degree must friends attain?

Anecdote xi.

In former times it was customary with the kings and tyrants of the world, such as the Píshdádí, Kayání, and Sásánian monarchs and the Caliphs, to vaunt themselves and compete with one another in justice and accomplishments, and with every ambassador whom they despatched they used to send wise sayings, riddles, and enigmatical questions. So the king, under these circumstances, stood in need of persons of intelligence and discrimination, and men of judgement and statesmanship; and several councils

[1] Qur'án, xi, 46.

[2] L. has ' ان اعلاه متنمّر و انّ اسفله لمعدن. In the margin لمُغْدَق stands as a variant on لمعدن. A. and B. have لمعدق and ملثمر for متنمّر.

would be held and adjourned, until they were unanimous as to their answers, and when the inner meanings of these problems and enigmas were plain and apparent, then they would despatch the ambassador.

This practice was maintained until the time of Maḥmúd b. Sabuktagín Yamínu'd-Dawla (may God have mercy upon him!). One day he despatched an ambassador to Bughrá Khán in Transoxania, and in the letter which had been drafted occurred this passage:—"*God Almighty saith, 'Verily the most honourable of you in God's sight is he who is most pious of you.'*[1] The acute and critical are agreed that here he [i.e. the Prophet] guards himself from ignorance; for the souls of men are subject to no more grievous defect than this, nor is there aught lower than the fault of folly. To the truth of this proposition and the soundness of this assertion God's Word also bears witness: '[*God will raise up those of you who believe*] *and those to whom knowledge hath been given to* [*superior*] *degrees.*'[2] Therefore we desire that the Imáms of the land of Transoxania and the doctors of the East and scholars of the Khâqán's Court should give so much information touching essentials as to state what the Prophetic Office is, what Saintship, what Religion, what Islám, what Faith, what Well-doing, what Godliness, what the Approbation of Right, what the Prohibition of Wrong, what the Path, what the Balance, what Justice, and what Pity."

When this letter reached the Court of Bughrá Khán,[3] and he had acquainted himself with its purport and contents, he summoned the Imáms of Transoxania from the different towns and districts, informed them of the matter, and requested them to answer these words, bidding each one compose a treatise on this subject, and introduce in the course of their dissertation and argument a reply to these

[1] Qur'án, xlix, 13.

[2] Qur'án, lviii, 12.

[3] Here A. has غراخان and B. قراخان, though they agree with L. above and below.

interrogations. They craved a delay of four months; which period dragged on with all sorts of detriments, the least of which was the disbursements from the treasury for the salaries of the ambassadors and the maintenance of the Imáms, until at length Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'lláh the scribe, who was Bughrá Khán's private secretary, and was deeply versed in learning and highly distinguished in scholarship, besides being one of the most eloquent stylists amongst the Muslims both in prose and verse, said: "I will answer these questions in two words, in such wise that when the greatest scholars and most conspicuous men of al-Islám shall see my answer, it shall command their approval and admiration." So he took up his pen and wrote under the questions, after the fashion of a legal decision (*fatwá*): "*Saith God's Apostle* (*upon whom be the Blessing of God, and also on his Family*), '*Reverence for God's command and loving-kindness towards God's people.*'" All the Imáms of Transoxania bit their fingers in amazement and expressed their admiration, saying, "Here indeed is an answer which is perfect, and an utterance which is comprehensive!" And the Kháqán was mightily pleased because the difficulty had been overcome by a scribe and not left to the divines. And when the answer reached Ghazna, all applauded it.

It therefore results from these premises that an intelligent and accomplished Secretary is a great ornament to the brilliancy of a King's Court. And with this anecdote we conclude this chapter. And from God cometh assistance.

Second Discourse.

On the Nature of Poetry, and the Utility of the Skilful Poet.

Poetry is that art whereby the poet arranges imaginary propositions, and adapts the deductions, with the result that he can make a little thing appear great and a great thing small, or cause good to appear in the garb of evil and evil in the garb of good. By acting on the imagination,

he excites the faculties of anger and concupiscence in such a way that by his suggestion men's temperaments become affected with exultation or depression; whereby he conduces to the accomplishment of great things in the order of the world.

Anecdote xii.

Thus they relate that Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'lláh al-Khujistání[1] was asked, "How didst thou, who wert originally an ass-herd, become Amír of Khurásán?" He replied: "One day I was reading the Díván of Ḥandhala of Bádghís,[2] in Bádghís of Khujistán, when I chanced on these two couplets:—

مهتری گر بکام شیر درست ' شو خطر کن ز کام شیر بجوی '
یا بزرگی و ناز و نعمت و جاه ' یا چو مردانت مرگ رویاروی '

'If lordship lies within the lion's jaws,
Go, risk it, and from those dread portals seize
Such straight-confronting death as men desire,
Or riches, greatness, rank and lasting ease.'

An impulse stirred within me such that I could in no wise remain content with that condition wherein I was. I therefore sold my asses, bought a horse, and, quitting my country, entered the service of 'Amr b. Layth.[3] At that time the fortune of the Ṣaffáris still floated at the zenith of its prosperity. Of the three brothers, 'Alí was the youngest, and Ya'qúb and 'Amr had precedence over him.

[1] "Khujistan.—In the mountains near Herát. From this country issued Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'lláh al-Khujistáni, who revolted at Níshápúr and died in A.H. 264." (Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. Géogr., Histor., et Litt. de la Perse*, p. 197.) The learned editor points out, however, that, according to Ibnu'l-Athír, Aḥmad was assassinated in the month of Shawwál, A.H. 268, after having reigned at Níshápúr for six years. See the *Journal Asiatique* for 1845, p. 345 et seqq. of the second half.

[2] See Ethé's *Rúdagí's Vorläufer und Zeitgenossen*, pp. 38–40, where these verses, and others by the same poet, are cited.

[3] Brother of Ya'qúb b. Layth, the founder of the short-lived Ṣaffárí dynasty. 'Amr reigned from A.H. 265 to A.H. 287.

When Ya'qúb came from Khurásán to Ghazna over the mountains, 'Alí b. Layth sent me back from *Ribáṭ-i-Sangín* ("the Stone Rest-house") to act as his agent to his feudal estates in Khurásán. I had collected an army of a hundred on the road, and had with me besides some twenty horsemen of my own. Now of the estates held in fief by 'Alí b. Layth one was Karúkh[1] of Herát, a second Khán-i-Níshápúr. When I reached Karúkh, I produced my warrant, and what was paid to me I divided amongst the army and gave to the soldiers. My horsemen now numbered three hundred. When I reached Khwáf,[2] and again produced my warrant, the burghers of Khwáf contested it, saying, 'Do we want a magistrate with [a bodyguard of only] ten men?'[3] I thereupon decided to renounce my allegiance to the Saffáris, looted Khwáf, proceeded to the village of Yashb,[4] and came to Bayhaq, where two[5] thousand horsemen joined me. I advanced and took Níshápúr, and my affairs prospered and improved until all Khurásán lay open to me, and I took possession of it for myself. Of all this, these two verses of poetry were the cause."

Salámí[6] relates in his history that the affairs of Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'lláh prospered so greatly that in one night at Níshápúr he distributed in largesse 300,000 dínárs, 500 head of horses, and 1,000 suits of clothes, and to-day he

[1] See Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. Géogr., Hist., et Litt. de la Perse*, p. 487. B. and L. have "of Merv."

[2] Ibid., pp. 213, 214.

[3] The text and sense are both very doubtful. A. (f. 12*b*) has گفتند مارا شحنهٔ باید با ده تن, while the lithograph has گفتند که مارا خواجه با دیه باید.

[4] The MSS. have plainly بروستای یشب بیرون شدم, while the lithograph has و بشب بیرون شدم. I cannot, however, find mention of the village.

[5] The lithograph reads "a thousand."

[6] Concerning Ibn Salám, the author of a *Ṭabaqátu'sh-Shu'ará* (d. A.D. 845–6), who is probably intended, see J.R.A.S. for January, 1899, p. 48, footnote.

stands in history as one of the victorious monarchs, all of which was brought about by these two couplets of poetry. Many similar instances are to be found amongst both the Arabs and the Persians, but we have restricted ourselves to the mention of this one. So a king cannot dispense with a good poet, who shall conduce to the immortality of his name, and shall record his fame in *dívánṣ* and books. For when the king receives that command which none can escape,[1] no trace will remain of his army, his treasure, and his store; but his name will endure for ever by reason of the poet's verse, as Sharíf-i-Mujallidí of Gurgán says:—[2]

از آن چندان نعیم این جهانی ' که ماند از آل ساسان و آل سامان '
ثنای رودگی ماندست و مدحش ' نوا بارید ماندست و دستان '

"From all the treasures hoarded by the Houses
Of Sásán and of Sámán, in our days
Nothing survives except the song of Bárbad,
Nothing is left save Rúdagí's sweet lays."

The names of the monarchs of the age and the princes of the time are perpetuated by the admirable verse and widely-current poems of this guild; as, for instance, the names of the House of Sámán by Ustád Abú 'Abdi'lláh Ja'far b. Muḥammad *ar-Rúdakí*,[3] Abu'l-'Abbás b. 'Abbás[4] az-Zanjí, Abu'l-Mathal[5] al-Bukhárí, Abú Isḥaq Júybárí,[6] Abu'l-Ḥasan al-'Ají,[7] and Ṭaháwí, and Khabbází[8] of Níshápúr, and Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Kisá'í[9]; and the names of

[1] i.e., when he comes to die.

[2] B. omits the poet's name altogether. L. has *Majdí*.

[3] al-'Awfí's *Lubáb*, part ii, No. 7.

[4] Ibid., No. 8, and Horn's ed. of the *Lughat-i-Asadí*, p. 24, first paragraph. L. has رازی and A. (f. 12*b*) زنجنی.

[5] Ibid., No. 25, and Asadí, p. 28.

[6] Ibid., No. 10.

[7] The lithograph omits this name and the next; A. (f. 13*a*) has الاعجی, I suppose for العجیّ; "enfant nourri d'un lait étranger"; while B. has الاعجمی.

[8] 'Awfí, No. 29.

[9] See Ethé's monograph, *Die Lieder des Kisá'í*.

the kings of the House of Náṣiru'd-Dín [i.e. the Ghaznavids] by such men as 'Unṣurí, 'Asjadí, Farrukhí,[1] Bahrámí,[2] Zaynatí,[3] Buzurjmihr of Qá'in,[4] Mudhaffar,[5] Manshúrí,[6] Manúchihrí,[7] Mas'údí,[8] Qasárámí,[9] Abú Hanífa Iskáf ("the Cobbler"),[10] Ráshidí, Abu'l-Faraj of Rúna,[11] Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán,[12] Muḥammad Abú Naṣr,[13] Sháh Abú Rijá,[14] Aḥmad Khalaf, 'Uthmán Mukhtárí,[15] and Saná'í[16]; and the names of the House of Kháqán through Lúlú'í, Gulábí, Najíbí,[17] Farkhárí,[18] 'Am'aq of Bukhárá,[19] Rashídí of Samarqand,[20] Najjár ("the Carpenter")[21] -i-Ságharjí, 'Alí Pánídí,[22] the son of Darghúsh,[23] 'Alí

[1] Well-known contemporaries of Firdawsí. Mention is made of the first and last (of whose poems lithographed editions have been published at Tihrán) further on.

[2] Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí of Sarakhs. See *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥá*, vol. i, p. 173.

[3] Zaynatí-i-'Alaví-i-Maḥmúdí-i-Khurásání. See *M.F.*, vol. i, p. 241.

[4] Qásim b. Ibráhím b. Manṣúr. See *M.F.*, vol. i, p. 66.

[5] Or Mudhaffarí, of Panj-dih. See *M.F.*, vol. i, p. 505.

[6] Abú Sa'íd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad of Samarqand. See *M.F.*, vol. i, p. 506.

[7] See the edition of his *Díván* by A. de Biberstein Kazimirski.

[8] Mas'údí of Ray (see *M.F.*, i, p. 503), another Ghaznavid poet, is apparently intended.

[9] L. substitutes *Ghadá'irí*. For Qaṣárámí see Horn's *Asadí*, p. 27.

[10] Of Merv or Ghazna. See 'Awfí's *Lubáb*, ch. x, No. 21, and *M.F.*, vol. i, pp. 83–85.

[11] See *M.F.*, i, pp. 70–78.

[12] Abu'l-Fakhr Mas'úd b. Sa'd b. Salmán of Ghazna (died A.H. 515 or 525). See Horn's *Lughat-i-Furs* of Asadí, p. 28, and *M.F.*, i, p. 514.

[13] L. has Majd-i-Náṣir. I can find no particulars concerning him.

[14] See *M.F.*, i, pp. 68–70. He was of Ghazna, and also bore the *laqab* of Shihábu'd-Dín.

[15] See Dawlatsháh's *Tadhkira* (pp. 93, 94 of my forthcoming edition), Ṭabaqa ii, No. 8.

[16] A. adds "Mawjúd," an error for "Majdúd." See Dawlatsháh (pp. 95–99), Ṭabaqa ii, No. 9; *M.F.*, i, pp. 254–274.

[17] L. omits this name and the next. Najíbu'd-Dín Jurbádhakání (i.e. of Gulpáyagán) is meant. See *M.F.*, i, pp. 634, 635.

[18] See Dawlatsháh (pp. 69, 70), Ṭabaqa i, No. 18.

[19] See Dawlatsháh (pp. 64–67), Ṭabaqa i, No. 15; *M.F.*, i, pp. 345–350.

[20] See Horn's *Asadí*, p. 18.

[21] See Anecdote xix, *infra*; and Horn's *Asadí*, p. 31.

[22] The second word is very uncertain. L. has تائیدی; A., تایندی, or تانیدی; B., تاپیدی; but lower (Anecdote xix), A. has بانیدی (i.e. پانیدی, or پانیذی), which I take to be the correct form.

[23] L. omits. B. has درغوشی. In both MSS. the first word is written بسر, which may stand for بشر, or possibly the correct reading is *Bashshár-i Murghazí*. See *M.F.*, i, p. 171.

Sipihrí,[1] Jawharí,[2] Sa'dí, the son of Tísha,[3] and 'Alí Shaṭranjí ("the Chess-player")[4]; and the names of the House of Seljúq by Farrukhí, Karkhání, Lámi'í of Dahistán,[5] Ja'far of Hamadán, Fírúzí-i-Fakhrí,[6] Burhání,[7] Amír Mu'izzí, Abu'l-Ma'álí of Ray,[8] 'Amíd Kamálí,[9] and Shihábí[10]; and the names of the rulers of Ṭabaristán through Qumrí of Gurgán,[11] Ráfi'í of Níshápúr,[12] Kafáyatí[13] of Ganja, Kúsa Fálí, and Búrkala[14]; and the names of the kings of Ghúr, the House of Shansab (may God cause their rule to endure for ever!), through Abu'l-Qásim Rafí'í, Abú Bakr Jawharí, this least of mankind Nidhámí-i-'Arúḍí, and 'Alí Ṣúfí. The *díváns* of these poets are eloquent as to the excellence, comeliness, munitions and forces [of war], justice, bounty, worth, nobility, doughty deeds, judgement, statecraft, heaven-sent success and influence of these former kings, of whom to-day no trace remains, nor of their hosts and retinues any survivor. How many nobles there were under these dynasties who enjoyed the favours of kings, and dispensed untold largesses to these poets, and conferred on them sources of income, of whom to-day no trace remains; though many were the painted palaces and charming gardens which they created and embellished, but which to-day are

[1] See 'Awfí's *Lubáb*, ch. viii, No. 30; *M.F.*, i, pp. 244, 245; but the identity is uncertain.

[2] Called "the goldsmith" (*Zargar*). See Dawlatsháh (pp. 118–121), Ṭabaqa, ii, No. 18.

[3] Very doubtful. L. omits. A. has و بسر تیشه; B., و برسید.

[4] Noticed in ch. x of 'Awfí's *Lubáb*; *M.F.*, i, pp. 344, 345.

[5] *M.F.*, i, pp. 494–501.

[6] Both MSS. have و در فیروز فخری.

[7] The father of Mu'izzí. Both are mentioned in Anecdote xvi, *infra*.

[8] *M.F.*, i, pp. 79, 80.

[9] Kamálu'd-Dín 'Amíd of Bukhárá. See *M.F.*, i, pp. 486, 487.

[10] Shihábu'd-Dín Aḥmad b. Mu'ayyad of Nasaf, near Samarqand. *M.F.*, i, pp. 310, 311.

[11] *M.F.*, i, pp. 477, 478.

[12] *M.F.*, i, pp. 220, 221.

[13] L. has کعائی.

[14] L. has Qá'iní for Fálí, and omits Búrkala.

levelled with the ground and uniform with the deserts and ravines! Says the author:—

بسا کاخا که محمودش بنا کرد ،
که از رفعت همی با مه مرا کرد ،
نه بینی زآن همه یک خشت بر پای ،
مدیح عنصری ماندست بر جای ،

"How many a palace did great Mahmúd raise,
At whose tall towers the Moon did stand at gaze,
Whereof one brick remaineth not in place,
Though still re-echo 'Unṣurí's sweet lays."

When the Monarch of the World Sulṭán 'Alá'u'dunyá wa'd-Dín Abú 'Alí al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥusayn, the Choice of the Prince of Believers (may his life be long, and the umbrella of his dynasty victorious!) marched on Ghazna to avenge those two martyred kings and laudable monarchs,[1] whom Sulṭán Bahrámsháh had previously put to death after the fashion of common thieves, treating them with every indignity, and speaking lightly of them,[2] he sacked Ghazna, and destroyed the buildings raised by Maḥmúd, Mas'úd, and Ibráhím, but he bought with gold the poems written in their praise, and placed them in his library. In that army and in that city none dared call them king, yet he himself would read that *Sháhnáma* wherein Firdawsí says:—

[1] Quṭbu'd-Dín Muḥammad and Sayfu'd-Dín Súrí, both killed by Bahrámsháh the Ghaznavid, towards the middle of the sixth century of the Flight. From his devastation of Ghazna (A.H. 550, A.D. 1155–6) 'Alá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn the Ghúrid received the title of *Jahán-súz* ("the World-consumer").

[2] This sentence is obscure in the first portion. It runs as follows in A.:—

خداوند عالم .... بکین خواستن آن دو ملک شهید و پادشاه حمید [که L.] بغزنین رفت و سلطان بهرامشاه از پیش [او A.] برفت و در راه دزدان هر دورا شهید کردند و [که A.] استخفافها کرده بودند و گزافها گفته [و L.] غزنین‌را غارت کرد ....

چو کودک اب از شیر مادر بشست ' ز کهواره محمود گوید نخست '
جهاندار محمود شاه بزرگ ' بآبشخور آرد همی میش و گرگ '

" Of the child in its cot, ere its lips yet are dry
From the milk of its mother, 'Maḥmúd!' is the cry!
Maḥmúd, the Great King, who such order doth keep
That in peace from one pool drink the wolf and the sheep!"

All wise men know that herein was no reverence for Maḥmúd, but only admiration for Firdawsí and his verse. Had Maḥmúd understood this, he would probably not have left that noble man disappointed and despairing.

Excursus.

Now the poet must be of tender temperament, profound in thought, sound in genius, clear of vision, quick of insight. He must be well versed in many divers sciences, and quick to extract what is best from his environment; for as poetry is of advantage in every science, so is every science of advantage in poetry. And the poet must be of pleasing conversation in social gatherings, of cheerful countenance on festive occasions; and his verse must have attained to such a level that it is written on the page of Time and celebrated on the lips and tongues of the noble, and be such that they transcribe it in books and recite it in cities. For the richest portion and most excellent part of poetry is immortal fame, and until it be thus confirmed and published it is ineffectual to this end, and this result cannot accrue from it; it will not survive its author, and, being ineffectual for the immortalizing of his name, how can it confer immortality on another?

But to this rank a poet cannot attain unless in the prime of his life and the season of his youth he commits to memory

20,000 couplets of the poetry of the Ancients and 10,000 verses of the works of the Moderns, holds them constantly before his eyes, and continually reads and marks the *diwáns* of the masters of his art, observing how they have acquitted themselves in the strait passes and delicate places of song, in order that thus the fashion and varieties of verse may become ingrained in his nature, and the defects and beauties of poetry may be inscribed on the tablet of his understanding. In this way his style will improve and his genius will develop. Then, when his taste has been formed by wide reading of poetry, and his style of expression is thus strengthened, let him address himself seriously to the poetic art, study the science of Prosody, and peruse the works of Master Abu'l-Ḥasan Bahrámí of Sarakhs, such as the "Goal of Prosodists" (*Ghâyatu'l-'Arúḍiyyín*), the "Thesaurus of Rhyme" (*Kanzu'l-Qáfiya*), and the works treating of poetic ideas and phraseology, plagiarisms, biographies, and all the sciences of this class, with such a master as he deemeth best, that thus he in turn may come to merit the title of Master, that his name may remain on the page of time like the names of those other Masters which we have mentioned, and that he may be able to discharge his debt to his patron and lord for what he obtains from him, so that his name may endure for ever.

Now it behoves the King to patronize such a person, so that he may remain in his service and celebrate his praise. But if he fall below this level, he should waste no money on him and pay no heed to his poetry, especially if he be old; for I have investigated this matter, and in the whole world have found nothing worse than an old poet, nor any money more ill spent than what is given to such. For one so ignoble as not to have discovered in fifty years that what he writes is bad, when will he discover it? But if he be young and has the right talent, even though his verse be not good, there is some hope that it may improve, and according to the Law of Chivalry it is proper to patronize him, a duty to take care of him, and an obligation to maintain him.

Now in the service of kings naught is better than improvisation, for thereby the king's mood is cheered, his receptions are made brilliant, and the poet himself attains his object. Such favours as Rúdagí obtained from the House of Sámán by his improvisations and by virtue of his verse, none other hath experienced.

Anecdote xiii.

They relate thus, that Naṣr b. Aḥmad, who was the central point of the Sámánid group, whose fortunes reached their zenith during the days of his rule, was most plenteously equipped with every means of enjoyment and material of splendour — well-filled treasuries, an efficient army, and loyal servants. In winter he used to reside at Bukhárá, his capital, while in summer he used to go to Samarqand or some other of the cities of Khurásán. Now one year it was the turn of Herát. He spent the spring at Bádghís, where are the most charming pasture-grounds of Khurásán and 'Iráq, for there are nearly a thousand watercourses abounding in water and pasture, any one of which would suffice for an army.

When the beasts had well eaten, and had regained their strength and condition, and were fit for warfare or to take the field, Naṣr b. Aḥmad turned his face towards Herát, but halted outside the city of Marghazár-i-Sapíd and there pitched his camp. Cool breezes from the north were stirring, and the fruit was ripening in the districts of Málin and Karúkh[1]—fruit which can be obtained in but few places, and nowhere so cheaply. There the army rested. The climate was charming, the breeze cool, food plentiful, fruit abundant, and the air filled with fragrant scents, so that the soldiers enjoyed their life to the full during the spring and summer.

[1] See Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, pp. 487, 511-512, according to which the former village is distant from Herát two parasangs, the latter ten.

When Mihrgán[1] arrived, and the juice of the grape came into season, and the eglantine, basil, and yellow rocket were in bloom, they did full justice to the charms of autumn, and took their fill of the pleasures of that season. Mihrgán was protracted, for the cold did not wax severe, and the grapes proved to be of exceptional sweetness. For in the district of Herát one hundred and twenty different varieties of the grape occur, each sweeter and more delicious than the other; and amongst them are in particular two kinds which are not to be found in any other region of the inhabited world, one called *Tarniyán*[2] and the other *Gulchídí*,[3] tight-skinned, slender-cored, and luscious, so that you would surely say they were [flavoured with] cinnamon.[4] A cluster of Gulchídí grapes sometimes attains a weight of five maunds; they are black as pitch and sweet as sugar, nor can one eat many for the sweetness that is in them. And besides these there were all sorts of other delicious fruits.

So the Amír Naṣr b. Aḥmad saw Mihrgán and its fruits, and was mightily pleased therewith. Then the narcissus began to bloom, and the raisins were plucked and stoned in Málin, and hung up on lines, and packed in chests; and the Amír with his army moved into the two groups of hamlets called Ghúra and Darwáz. There he saw mansions of which each one was like highest paradise, having before it a garden or pleasure-ground with a northern aspect. There they wintered, while the Mandarin oranges began

[1] The festival of the autumnal equinox, which fell in the old Persian month of Mihr.

[2] So L. B. has ترتیان, A. برنیان. The usual meaning of the word appears to be a sieve or basket made of osiers. See Horn's *Asadí*, p. 99, l. 1; Salemann's *Shams i Fachrii Lexicon*, p. 96, l. 13, and note *ad calc.*

[3] The reading is very uncertain. A. has گلجدی, L. گلاجدی.

[4] Here also the reading is uncertain. I follow A., which seems to read: گوئی که درآن دار صینی هستی ' والبتّه گوئی که در [آن] ارضی نیست '. L. has:

to arrive from Sístán and the sweet oranges from Mázandarán; and so they passed the winter in the most agreeable manner.

When [the second] spring came, the Amír sent the horses to Bádghís and moved his camp to Málin [to a spot] between two streams. And when summer came, the fruits again ripened; and when Mihrgán came, he said, "Let us enjoy Mihrgán at Herát"; and so from season to season he continued to procrastinate, until four years had passed in this way. For it was then the heyday of the Sámánian prosperity, and the land was flourishing, the kingdom unmenaced by foes, the army loyal, fortune favourable, and heaven auspicious; yet withal the Amir's attendants grew weary, and desire for home arose within them, while they beheld the King quiescent, the air of Herát in his head and the love of Herát in his heart; and in the course of conversation he would declare that he preferred Herát to the Garden of Eden, and would set its charms above those of the springtide of Beauty.[1]

So they perceived that he intended to remain there for that summer also. Then the captains of the army and courtiers of the King went to Abú 'Abdu'lláh Rúdagí,[2] than whom there was none more honoured of the King's intimates, and none whose words found so ready an acceptance. And they said to him: "We will present thee with five thousand dínárs if thou wilt contrive some artifice whereby the King may be induced to depart hence, for our hearts are dying for desire of our wives and children, and our souls are like to leave us for longing after Bukhárá." Rúdagí agreed; and since he had felt the Amír's pulse and understood his temper, he perceived that prose would not affect him, and so had recourse to verse.

[1] So A., which reads بهار حسن; while L. has بهار چین, "a Chinese spring."

[2] See Ethé's excellent monograph, and his article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; also p. 62 of the Journal for January, 1899.

He therefore composed a *qaṣída*; and, when the Amír had taken his morning cup, came in and did obeisance, and sat down in his place; and, when the musicians ceased, he took up the harp, and, playing the "Lover's air," began this elegy:—[1]

بوی جوی مولیان آید همی ' بوی یار مهربان آید همی '

"The Jú-yi-Múliyán we call to mind,
We long for those dear friends long left behind."

Then he strikes a lower key, and sings:—

ریگ آمو و درشتی راه او ' زیر پایم پرنیان آید همی '
آب جیحون از نشاط روی دوست ' خنگ مارا تا میان آید همی '
ای بخارا شاد باش و دیرزی ' میر زی تو شادمان آید همی '
میر ماهست و بخارا آسمان ' ماه سوی آسمان آید همی '
میر سروست و بخارا بوستان ' سرو سوی بوستان آید همی '

"The sands of Oxus, toilsome though they be,
Beneath my feet were soft as silk to me.
Glad at the friend's return, the Oxus deep
Up to our girths in laughing waves shall leap.
Long live Bukhárá! Be thou of good cheer!
Joyous towards thee hasteth our Amír!
The Moon's the Prince, Bukhárá is the sky;
O Sky, the Moon shall light thee by and bye!
Bukhárá is the mead, the Cypress he;
Receive at last, O Mead, thy Cypress-tree!"

[1] This poem is very well known, being cited in almost all notices of Rúdagí's life (e.g. by Dawlatsháh), in Forbes' *Persian Grammar*, pp. 1[st], 2, 161–163, and in Blochmann's *Prosody of the Persians*, pp. 2–3.

When Rúdagí reached this verse, the Amír was so much affected that he descended from his throne, bestrode the horse which was on sentry-duty,[1] and set off for Bukhárá so precipitately that they carried his riding-boots after him for two parasangs, as far as Burúna,[2] and only then did he put them on; nor did he draw rein anywhere till he reached Bukhárá, and Rúdagí received from the army the double of that five thousand dínárs.

At Samarqand, in the year A.H. 504 (= A.D. 1110–1111), I heard from the Dihqán Abú Rijá Aḥmad b. 'Abdu'ṣ-Ṣamad al-'Ábidí as follows:—"My grandfather, the Dihqán Abú Rijá, related that [on this occasion] when Rúdagí reached Samarqand, he had four hundred camels laden with his wealth." And, indeed, that illustrious man was worthy of this splendid equipment, for no one has yet produced a successful imitation of that elegy, nor found means to surmount triumphantly the difficulties [which the subject presents]. Thus the Poet-laureate Mu'izzí was one of the sweetest singers and most graceful wits in Persia, and his poetry reaches the highest level in freshness and sweetness, and excels in fluency and charm. Zaynu'l-Mulk Abú Sa'd [b.] Hindú b. Muḥammad b. Hindú of Isfahán[3] requested him to compose an imitation of this *qaṣída*, and Mu'izzí, unable to plead his inability so to do, wrote:—

رستم از مازندران آید همی ' زین ملک از اصفهان آید همی '

"Now advanceth Rustam from Mázandarán,
Now advanceth Zayn-i-Mulk from Isfahán."

[1] *Khing-i-nawbatí.* To provide against any sudden emergency, a horse, ready saddled and bridled, was kept always at the gate of the King's palace, and it is this 'sentry-horse' to which reference is here made.

[2] L. has با برونه, and in a marginal note explains *burúna* as meaning turban or handkerchief; but A. has به برونه, and I suspect that it is really a place-name. Cf. Sachau's remarks on the derivation of al-Bírúní's name at p. 7 of his translation of the *Chronology of Ancient Nations*.

[3] See Houtsma's ed. of al-Bundárí's *History of the Seljúqs*, pp. 93, 101, 105.

All wise men will perceive how great is the difference between this poetry and that; for who can sing with such sweetness as does Rúdagí when he says:—

آفرین و مدح سود آید همی ' گر بگنج اندر زیان آید همی '

"Surely are renown and praise a lasting gain,
Even though the royal coffers loss sustain!"

For in this couplet are seven admirable touches of art: first, the verse is apposite; secondly, antithetical; thirdly, it has a refrain; fourthly, it embodies an enunciation of equivalence; fifthly, it has sweetness; sixthly, style; seventhly, energy. Every master of the craft, who has deeply considered the poetic art, will admit, after a little reflection, that I am right.

Anecdote xiv.

The love borne by Maḥmúd Yamínu'd-Dawla to Ayáz the Turk is well known and famous. It is related that Ayáz was not remarkably handsome, but had several good points. Of sweet expression and olive complexion, symmetrically formed, graceful in his movements, sensible and deliberate in action, he was mightily endowed with all the arts of courtiership, in which respect, indeed, he had few rivals in his time. Now these are all qualities which excite love and give permanence to friendship.

Now Maḥmúd was a pious and God-fearing man, and he wrestled with his love for Ayáz so that he did not diverge by so much as a single step from the Path of the Law and the Way of Chivalry. One night, however, at a carousal, when the wine had begun to affect him and love to stir within him, he looked at the curls of Ayáz, and saw, as it were, ambergris rolling over the face of the moon, hyacinths twisted about the visage of the sun, ringlet upon

ringlet like a coat of mail; link upon link like a chain; in every ringlet a thousand hearts and under every lock a hundred thousand souls. Thereupon love plucked the reins of self-restraint from the hands of his endurance, and lover-like he drew him to himself. But the watchman of "*Hath not God forbidden you to transgress against Him?*" thrust forth his head from the collar of the Law, stood before Maḥmúd, and said: "O Maḥmúd, mingle not sin with love, nor mix the false with the true, for such a slip will raise the Realm of Love in revolt against thee, and thou wilt fall like thy first father from Love's Paradise, and remain afflicted in the world of Sin." The ear of his fortunate nature being quick to hear, he hearkened to this announcement, and the tongue of his faith cried from his innermost soul, "*We believe and we affirm.*" Then, again, he feared lest the army of his self-control might be unable to withstand the evolutions of the locks of Ayáz, so, drawing a knife, he placed it in the hands of Ayáz, bidding him take it and cut off his curls. Ayáz took the knife from his hands with an obeisance, and, having enquired where he should cut them, was bidden to cut them in the middle. He therefore doubled back his locks to get the measurement, executed the King's command, and laid the two tresses before Maḥmúd. It is said that this ready obedience became a fresh cause of love; and Maḥmúd called for gold and jewels and gave to Ayáz beyond his usual custom and ordinary practice, after which he fell into a drunken sleep.

When the morning breeze blew upon him, and he arose from sleep to ascend the Royal Throne, he remembered what he had done. He summoned Ayáz and saw the clipped tresses. The army of remorse invaded his heart, and the peevish headache born of wine settled on his brain. He kept rising up and sitting down aimlessly, and none of the courtiers or men of rank dared to address to him any enquiry, until at length Ḥájib 'Alí Qaríb, who was the Chief Chamberlain, turned to 'Unṣurí and said, "Go, show thyself to him." So 'Unṣurí came in and did obeisance.

Maḥmúd raised his head and said: "I was just thinking of you. You see what has happened: say something on this subject." 'Unṣurí said:—

گر عیب سر زلف بُت ازکاستن است ،
چه جای بغم نشستن و خاستن است ،
جای طرب و نشاط و می خواستن است ،
کآراستن سرو ز پیراستن است ،

"Though shame it be a fair one's curls to shear,
Why rise in wrath or sit in sorrow here?
Rather rejoice, make merry, call for wine;
When clipped the cypress doth most trim appear."

Maḥmúd was highly pleased with this quatrain, and bade them bring gold and silver, which he mixed together, and therewith thrice filled the poet's lap. Then he summoned the minstrels before him, and drank wine to [the accompaniment of] those two verses whereby his melancholy had been dissipated, and recovered the equability of his temper.

Anecdote XV.

Now you must know that improvisation is the chief pillar of the Poetic Art; and it is incumbent on the poet to train his talents to such a point as to be able to improvise on any subject, for thus is money extracted from the treasury, and thus can the king be made acquainted with any matter which arises. All this is necessary to please the heart of one's patron and the humour of him who is the subject of one's eulogies; and whatever poets have earned in the way of great rewards has been earned by improvisations and poems inspired by the occasion.

Farrukhí was a native of Sístán, and was the son of Júlúgh,[1] the servant of Amír Khalaf.[2] He was possessed

[1] So A., but B. and L. read جولوغ, while *M.F.* has قلوغ.

[2] See Defrémery's *Histoire des Samanides*, p. 265.

of good talents, composed pleasing verses, and was a skilful performer on the harp; and he was retained in the service of one of the dihqáns of Sístán, who gave him a yearly allowance of two hundred measures of corn, each containing five maunds, and a hundred dirhams in silver coinage of Núḥ [which amply sufficed for his needs].[1] But he desired to marry a woman of Khalaf's clientage, whereby his expenses were increased, and the baskets and trays were multiplied,[2] so that Farrukhí remained without sufficient provision, nor was there in Sístán anyone else save[3] their amírs. He therefore appealed to the Dihqán, saying: "My expenses have been increased; how would it be if the Dihqán should make my allowance of corn three hundred maunds, and raise my salary by five hundred dirhams, so that my means may perhaps become equal to my expenditure?" The Dihqán wrote on the back of the appeal: "So much shall not be refused you, but there is no possibility of any further increase."

So Farrukhí was in despair, and made enquiries of such as arrived and passed by to hear of some patron in some region or part of the world who might look upon him with favour, so that he might chance on a success; until at length they informed him that the Amír Abu'l-Mudhaffar Chighání in Chighániyán[4] was a munificent patron of this class, conferring on them splendid presents and rewards, and was at that period conspicuous in this respect amongst the kings of the age and nobles of the time. On the subject of this choice Farrukhí says:—

با کاروان حلّه برفتم ز سیستان ' با ḥulláh tanídah zdl báftah z ján '

[1] The words و اورا تمام بودی are omitted by L.

[2] A. و دَبَه و زنبیل افزود '.

[3] L. has از for مگر, so that the sense would then be "anyone of their amírs."

[4] Or, in its Arabicized form, *Ṣighániyán*, a place in Transoxania, near Tirmidh and Qubádhiyán. See De Goeje's *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, where it is mentioned repeatedly.

"In a caravan of merchandise from Sistán did I start,
With fabrics spun within my brain and woven by my heart."

In truth it is a fine elegy that he composed on the Poetic Art, incomparable in the beauty of its eulogies.

So Farrukhí, having furnished himself with what was necessary for the journey, set out for Chighániyán. Now Abu'l-Muẓaffar had 18,000 mares, roadsters,[1] each one of which was followed by its colt. And every year the Amír used to go out to brand the mares, and at this moment he happened to be at the place where the branding was done; while 'Amíd As'ad, who was his steward, was at the capital preparing provisions to be conveyed to the Amír. To him Farrukhí went, and recited a *qaṣída*, and submitted to him the poetry he had composed for the Amír.

Now 'Amíd As'ad was a man of parts and a poet, and in Farrukhí's verse he recognized poetry at once fresh, sweet, pleasing, and masterly, while seeing the man himself to be ill-proportioned, clothed in a torn jubba worn anyhow,[2] with a huge turban on his head after the manner of the Sagzís, of the most unprepossessing appearance from head to foot; and this poetry, withal, in the seventh heaven. He could not believe that it had been composed by this Sagzí, and, to prove him, said: "The Amír is at the branding-ground, whither I go to wait upon him; and thither I will take thee also, for it is a mighty pleasant spot—

جهانی در جهانی سبزه بینی '

'World within world of verdure wilt thou see'—

full of tents and lamps like stars, and from each tent come the songs of Rúdagí, and friends sit together, drinking wine and making merry, while before the Amír's pavilion a great fire is kindled, in size like unto several mountains,

[1] The word is راهی, explained in the margin of L. as meaning گردنده و دونده '

[2] *Pish u pas.*

whereat they brand the colts. And the King, with the goblet in one hand and the lassoo in the other, drinks wine and gives away horses. Compose, now, a *qaṣída*, describing the branding-ground, so that I may take thee before the Amír."

That night Farrukhí went and composed the following *qaṣída*, which he brought before 'Amíd:—[1]

چون پرند نیلگون بر روی پوشد مرغزار
پرنیان هفت رنگ اندر سر آرد کوهسار
خاک را چون ناف آهو مشک زاید بیقیاس
بیدرا چون پر طوطی برگ روید بیشمار
دوش وقت نیم شب بوی بهار آورد باد
حبّذا باد شمال و خرّما بوی بهار
باد گوئی مشک سوده دارد اندر آستین
باغ گوئی لعبتان جلوه دارد در کنار
نسترن لولوی بیضا دارد اندر مرسله[2]
ارغوان لعل بدخشی دارد اندر گوشوار
تا بر آمد جامهای سرخ مل بر شاخ گل
پنجه‌ها چون دست مردم سر فرو کرد از چنار
باغ بو قلمون لباس و شاخ بو قلمون نمای
آب مروارید گون و ابر مروارید بار

[1] See pp. 114–117 of the lithographed edition of Farrukhí's works published at Ṭihrán for Mírzá Mahdí Khán *Badáyi'-nigár*, poetically surnamed Mukhliṣ, in A.H. 1301. Of the 52 bayts there given, only 22 are cited in the *Chahár Maqála*. The poem is also given by Dawlatsháh (pp. 55–57 of my forthcoming edition). Only a few of the more important variants are noticed here.

[2] A gloss in the lithographed Ṭihrán edition explains this word as meaning 'necklace' (گردن بند).

راست پنداری که خلعتهای رنگین یافتند ،
باغهای پر نگار از داغگاه شهریار ،
داغگاه شهریار اکنون چنان خرّم شود ،
کاندرو از خرّمی خیره بماند روزگار ،
سبزه اندر سبزه بینی چون سپهر اندر سپهر ،
خیمه اندر خیمه بینی چون حصار اندر حصار ،
سبزه ها پر بانگ چنگ و مطربان چرب دست ،
خیمه‌ها با بانگ نوش و ساقیان میگسار ،
هر کجا خیمه است خفته عاشقی با دوست مست ،
هر کجا سبزه است شادان یاری از دیدار یار ،
عاشقان بوس و کنار و نیکوان ناز و عتاب ،
مطربان رود و سرود و خفتگان خواب و خمار ،
بر در پرده سرای خسرو پیروز بخت ،
از پی داغ آتشی افروخته خورشید وار ،
بر کشیده آتشی چون مطرد دیبای زرد ،
گرم چون طبع جوان و زرد چون زرّ عیار ،
داغها چون شاخهای بسّد یاقوت رنگ ،
هر یکی چون نازدانه گشته اندر زیر نار ،
بردگان[1] خواب نا دیده مصاف اندر مصاف ،
مرکبان داغ نا کرده قطار اندر قطار ،
خسرو فرّخ سیر بر بارهٔ دریا گذر ،
با کمند اندر میان دشت چون اسفندیار ،

[1] L. has ریدگان glossed in the margin as 'slave-boys' (غلام بچگان). The Ṭihrán ed. has دیدگان, 'eyes.'

همچو زلف دلبران خورد سالـه تاب خورد ،
همچو عـهـد دوستـان سـالخورده اسـتوار ،
میر عادل[1] بـو المظفّـر شـاه بـا پـیوستگان ،
شهریـار شیرگـیـر و پـادشـاه شـهـردار[2] ،
ازدها کردار پـیچـان در کـف رادش کمـند ،
چون عصای موسوی در دست موسی گشته مار ،
هـر کـرا انـدر کمند شصت یازی در فـگند ،
گشت نامش[3] بر سرین و شانه و رویش نگار ،
هرچه زیـن سو داغ کرد از سوی دیگر میدهد[4] ،
شاعران‌را بـا لـگـام و زایـران‌را بـا فـسـار ،

"*Since the meadow hides its face in satin shot with greens and blues,*
And the mountains wrap their brows in silken veils of seven hues,
Earth is teeming like the musk-pod with aromas rich and rare,
Foliage bright as parrot's plumage doth the graceful willow wear.
Yestere'en the midnight breezes brought the tidings of the spring:
Welcome, O ye northern gales, for this glad promise which ye bring!
Up its sleeve the wind, meseemeth, pounded musk hath stored away,
While the garden fills its lap with shining dolls, as though for play.

[1] L. substitutes '*Fakhr-i-Dawlat.*'

[2] The Ṭihrán ed. has: شادمان و شاد خوار و کامران و کامکار.

[3] So A. L. has دابش.

[4] So A. and L. The ed. has هدیه داد.

On the branches of syringa necklaces of pearls we see,
Ruby earrings of Badakshán sparkle on the Judas-tree.
Since the branches of the rose-bush carmine cups and beakers bore
Human-like five-fingered hands reach downwards from the sycamore.
Gardens all chameleon-coated, branches with chameleon whorls,
Pearly-lustrous pools around us, clouds above us raining pearls!
On the gleaming plain this coat of many colours doth appear
Like a robe of honour granted in the court of our Amir.
For our Prince's Camp of Branding stirreth in these joyful days,
So that all this age of ours in joyful wonder stands agaze.
Green within the green you see, like skies within the firmament;
Like a fort within a fortress spreads the army, tent on tent.
Every tent contains a lover resting in his sweetheart's arms,
Every patch of grass revealeth to a friend a favourite's charms.
Harps are sounding 'midst the verdure, minstrels sing their lays divine,
Tents resound with clink of glasses as the pages pour the wine.
Kisses, claspings from the lovers; coy reproaches from the fair;
Wine-born slumbers for the sleepers, while the minstrels wake the air.
Branding fires, like suns ablaze, are kindled at the spacious gate
Leading to the State-pavilion of our Prince so fortunate.
Leap the flames like gleaming lances draped with yellow-lined brocade,
Hotter than a young man's temper, yellower than gold assayed.
Branding tools like coral branches ruby-tinted glow amain
In the fire, as in the ripe pomegranate glows the crimson grain.
Rank on rank of active boys, whose watchful eyes no slumber know;
Steeds which still await the branding, rank on rank and row on row.
On his horse, the river-forder, roams our genial Prince afar,
Ready to his hand the lassoo, like a young Isfandiyár.
Like the locks of pretty children see it how it curls and bends,
Yet be sure its hold is stronger than the covenant of friends.

Bu'l-Muẓaffar. Shah the Just, surrounded by a noble band,
King and conqueror of cities, brave defender of the land.
Serpent-coiled in skilful hands fresh forms his whirling noose doth take,
Like unto the rod of Moses metamorphosed to a snake.
Whosoever hath been captured by that noose and circling line,
On the face and flank and shoulder ever bears the Royal sign.
But, though on one side he brands, he giveth also rich rewards,
Leads his poets with a bridle, binds his guests as though with cords."

When 'Amíd As'ad heard this elegy, he was overwhelmed with amazement, for never had the like of it reached his ears. He put aside all his business, mounted Farrukhí on a horse, and set out for the Amír, whose presence he entered about sundown, saying: "O Sire, I bring thee a poet the like of whom the eye of Time hath not seen since Daqíqí's face was veiled in death." Then he related what had passed.

So the Amír accorded Farrukhí an audience, and when he came in he did reverence, and the Amír gave him his hand, and assigned him an honourable place, enquiring after his health, treating him with kindness, and inspiring him with hopes of favours to come. When the wine had gone round several times, Farrukhí arose, and, in a sweet and plaintive voice, recited his elegy, beginning:—

با کاروان حلّه برفتم ز سیستان ' با حلّهٔ تنیدهٔ ز دل بافته ز جان '

"In a caravan of merchandise from Sistán did I start,
With fabrics spun within my brain and woven in my heart."

When he had finished, the Amír, himself something of a poet, expressed his astonishment at this *qaṣída*. 'Amíd As'ad said, "Wait till you see!" Farrukhí was silent until the wine had produced its full effect on the Amír, then he arose and recited this elegy on the branding-ground. The Amír was amazed, and in his admiration turned to Farrukhí, saying: "They have brought in a thousand colts,

all with white foreheads, fetlocks, and feet. Thou art a cunning rascal, a Sagzí; catch as many as thou art able, that they may be thine." Farrukhí, on whom the wine had produced its full effect, came out, took his turban from his head, hurled himself into the midst of the herd, and chased a drove of them before him across the plain; but, though he caused them to gallop hither and thither, he could not catch a single one. At length a ruined rest-house situated on the edge of the camping-ground came into view, and thither the colts fled. Farrukhí, being tired out, placed his turban under his head in the porch of the rest-house, and at once went to sleep, by reason of his extreme weariness and the effects of the wine. When they counted the colts, they were forty-two in number. The Amír, on being told of this, laughed and said: "He is a lucky fellow, and will come to great things. Look after him, and look after the colts as well. When he awakes, waken me too." So they obeyed the King's orders.

Next day, after sunrise, Farrukhí arose. The Amír had already risen, and, when he had performed his prayers, he gave Farrukhí an audience, treated him with great consideration, and handed over the colts to his attendants. He also ordered Farrukhí to be given a horse and equipments suitable to a man of rank, as well as a tent, three camels, five slaves, wearing apparel, and carpets. So Farrukhí prospered in his service, and enjoyed the greatest circumstance, and waited upon Sulṭán Maḥmúd, who, seeing him thus magnificently equipped, regarded him with the same regard, and his affairs reached that pitch of prosperity which they reached, so that twenty servants girt with silver girdles rode behind him.

Anecdote xvi.

In the year A.H. 510 (A.D. 1116–1117) the King of Islám Sanjar, the son of Malikshán the Seljúq (may God be merciful to him!), chanced to be encamped at the spring season within the marches of Ṭús, in the plain of Tarúq,

when I, in hopes of obtaining some favour, joined his Court from Herát, having then nothing in the way of equipment or provision. I composed a *qaṣída* and went to Mu'izzí, the Poet-laureate, to seek for his counsel and support. He looked at my poem, and, having tested my talents in several ways, behaved in the most noble manner, and deemed it his duty to act in the way befitting so great a man.

One day I expressed in his presence a hope that Fortune would be more favourable to me, and complained of my luck. He answered genially: "Thou hast laboured hard to acquire this science, and hast fully mastered it: surely this will have its effect. My own case was precisely similar; and good poetry has never yet been wasted. Thou hast a goodly share in this art: thy verse is even and melodious, and is still improving. Wait and see the advantages which thou wilt reap from this science. For though Fortune should at first be grudging, matters will eventually turn out as thou wishest.

"My father Burhání, the Poet-laureate (may God be merciful to him!), passed away from this transitory to that eternal world in the town of Qazwín in the early part of the reign of Malikshán, entrusting me to the King in this verse, since then become famous:—[1]

من رفتم و فرزند من آمد خلف صدق ' اورا بخدا و بخداوند سپردم '

'I am flitting, but I leave a son behind me,
And commend him to my God and to my King.'

"So my father's salary and allowances were transferred to me, and I became Malikshán's court-poet, and spent a year in the King's service; yet was I unable to see him save from a distance, nor did I get one dínár of my salary

[1] This verse, to which are added several others, is commonly ascribed to the Nidhámu'l-Mulk, e.g. by Dawlatsháh (p. 59 of my forthcoming edition). Apart from the improbability that one who lay dying of a mortal wound would be in the mood to compose verses, we learn from this anecdote that the Nidhámu'l-Mulk "had no opinion of poets because he had no skill in their art." The verse which gives his age as 94 at the time of his death (he was actually 80 at most) is alone enough to discredit the story.

or one maund of my allowances, while my expenditure was increased, I became involved in debt, and my brain was perplexed by my affairs. For that great Minister the Nidhámu'l-Mulk (may God be merciful to him!) had no opinion of poets, because he had no skill in their art; nor did he pay any attention to any one of the religious leaders or mystics.

"One day—it was the eve of the day on which the new moon of Ramaḍán was due to appear, and I had not a farthing for all the expenses incidental to that month and the feast which follows it—I went thus sad at heart to the Amír 'Alí Farámarz[1] 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, a man of royal parentage, a lover of poetry, and the intimate companion and son-in-law of the King, with whom he enjoyed the highest honour and before whom he could speak boldly, for he held high rank under that administration. And he had already been my patron. I said: 'May my lord's life be long! Not all that the father could do can the son do, nor does that which accrued to the father accrue to the son. My father was a bold and energetic man, and was sustained by his art, and the martyred King Alp Arslán, the lord of the world, entertained the highest opinion of him. But what he could do that can I not, for modesty forbids me. I have served this prince for a year, and have contracted debts to the extent of a thousand dínárs, and have not received a farthing. Crave permission, then, for thy servant to go to Níshápúr, and discharge his debts, and live on that which is left over, and express his gratitude to this victorious Dynasty.'

"'Thou speakest truly,' replied Amír 'Alí: 'we have all been at fault, but this shall be so no longer. The King, at the time of Evening Prayer, will go up to look for the moon. Thou must be present there, and we will see what Fortune will do.' Thereupon he at once ordered me to receive a hundred dínárs to defray my Ramaḍán expenses,

[1] Probably 'Alí b. Farámarz the Kákwayhid is intended. See Lane's *Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 145.

and a purse containing this sum in Níshápúr coinage was forthwith brought and placed before me. So I returned mightily well pleased, and made my preparations for Ramaḍán, and at the time of the second prayer went to the King's pavilion. It chanced that 'Alá'u'd-Dawla arrived at the very same moment, and I paid my respects to him. 'Thou hast done excellently well,' said he, 'and hast come punctually.' Then he dismounted and went in before the King.

"At sundown the King came forth from his pavilion, with a cross-bow in his hand and 'Alá'u'd-Dawla on his right hand. I ran forward to do obeisance. Amír 'Alí continued the kindnesses he had already shown me, and then busied himself in looking for the moon. The King, however, was the first to see it, whereat he was mightily pleased. Then 'Alá'u'd-Dawla said to me, 'O son of Burhání, say something appropriate,' and I at once recited these two couplets:—

ای ماه چو ابروان یاری گوئی ' یا نی چو کمان شهریاری گوئی '
نعلی زده از زر عیاری گوئی ' بر گوش سپهر گوشواری گوئی '

'Methinks, O Moon, thou art our Prince's bow,
Or his curved eyebrow, which doth charm us so,
Or else a horse-shoe wrought of gold refined,
Or ring from Heaven's ear depending low.'

"When I had submitted these verses, Amír 'Alí applauded, and the King said: 'Go, loose from the stable whichever horse thou pleasest.' When I was close to the stable, Amír 'Alí designated a horse which was brought out and given to my attendants, and which proved to be worth 300 dínárs of Níshápúr. The King then went to his oratory, and I performed the evening prayer, after which we sat down to meat. At the table Amír 'Alí said: 'O son of Burhání! Thou has not yet said anything about this favour conferred on thee by the lord of the world. Compose

a quatrain at once!' I thereupon sprang to my feet and recited these two verses:—

چون آتش خاطر مرا شاه بدید '
از خاک مرا بر زبر ماه کشید '
چون آب یکی ترانه از من شنید '
چون باد یکی مرکب خاصم بخشید '

'The King beheld the fire *which in me blazed:*
Me from low earth *above the moon he raised:*
From me a verse, like water *fluent heard,*
And swift as wind *a noble steed conferred.'*

"When I recited these verses 'Alá'u'd-Dawla warmly applauded me, and by reason of his applause the King gave me a thousand dínárs. Then 'Alá'u'd-Dawla said: 'He hath not yet received his salary and allowances. To-morrow I will sit by the Minister until he writes a draft for his salary on Isfahán, and orders his allowances to be paid out of the treasury.' Said the King: 'Thou must do it, then, for no one else has sufficient boldness. And call this poet after my title.' Now the King's title was *Mu'izzu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín*, so Amír 'Alí called me *Mu'izzí*. *'Amír* Mu'izzí,' said the King, [correcting him]. And this noble lord was so zealous for me that next day, by the time of the first prayer, I had received a thousand dínárs as a gift, twelve hundred more as allowances, and an order for a thousand maunds of corn. And when the month of Ramadán was past, he summoned me to a private audience, and caused me to become the King's boon-companion. So my fortune began to improve, and thenceforth he made enduring provision for me, and to-day whatever I have I possess by the favour of that Prince. May God, blessed and exalted is He, rejoice his dust with the lights of His Mercy, by His Favour and His Grace!"

Anecdote xvii.

The House of Seljúq were all fond of poetry, but none more so than Ṭughán Sháh b. Alp Arslán,[1] whose conversation and intercourse was entirely with poets, and whose favourite companions were almost all of this class—men such as Amír Abú 'Abdu'lláh Qurashí, Abú Bakr Azraqí,[2] Abú Manṣúr, Abú Ɣúsuf, Shujá'í of Fasá, Aḥmad Badíhí,[3] Ḥaqíqí and Nasímí, all of whom enjoyed a definite status, while many others kept coming and going, all departing with gifts and joyful countenances.

One day the King was playing backgammon with Aḥmad Badíhí. They were finishing a game for [a stake of] ten thousand [dínárs], and the Amír had two pieces in the sixth house and Aḥmad Badíhí two pieces in the first house[4]; and it was the Amír's throw. He threw with the most deliberate care, in order to cast two sixes, instead of which he threw two ones, whereat he was mightily vexed and left the board, while his anger rose so high and reached such a pitch that each moment he was like to put his hand to his sword, and his courtiers trembled like the leaves of a tree, seeing that he was a king, and withal a boy angered at such spite of Fortune.

Then Abú Bakr Azraqí arose, and, approaching the minstrels, recited this quatrain:—

گر شاه دو شش خواست دو یک زخم افتاد
تا ظن نبری که کعبتین داد نداد

[1] Called by Riḍá-qulí Khán (*M.F.*, i, 139) Ṭughánsháh b. Malik-i-Mu'ayyad. See Houtsma's *Hist. des Seljoucides de Kerman*, pp. 111, 119, 142.

[2] 'Awfí's *Lubáb*, ch. x, No. 3; Dawlatsháh (pp. 72–73 of my ed.), Ṭabaqa ii, No. 1; and *M.F.*, vol. i, pp. 139–152.

[3] *M.F.*, i, p. 169. His *laqab* was Majdu'd-Dín and his *nisba* Sajáwandí.

[4] For the explanation of this passage I am indebted to my friend Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Ghaffár of the Persian Legation. The six 'houses' on each side of the backgammon board are named (proceeding from left to right) as follows: (1) *khal-khán* or *yak-gáh*, (2) *dú-khan*, (3) *si-khán*, (4) *chahár-khán*, (5) *báṣ-dar*, (6) *shish-khán* or *shish-dar-gáh*. The numbers contained in these names allude to the numbers which must be thrown with the dice to get the pieces which occupy them off the board.

آن زخم کـه کرد رای شـاهـنـشـه یـاد ‘
در خدمـت شـاه روی بـر خـاک نهاد ‘

“Reproach not Fortune with discourteous tricks
If by the King, desiring double six,
Two ones were thrown; for whomsoe'er he calls
Face to the earth before him prostrate falls.”

When I was at Herát in the year A.H. 509 (A.D. 1115–1116), Abú Manṣúr and Abú Yúsuf related to me that the Amír Tughánsháh was so charmed and delighted with these two verses that he kissed Azraqí on the eyes, called for gold, and successively placed five hundred dínárs in his mouth, continuing thus to reward him so long as one gold piece was left. Thus did he recover his good humour and such largesse did he bestow, and the cause of all this was one quatrain. May God Almighty have mercy on both of them, by His Favour and Grace!

Anecdote xviii.

In the year A.H. 472 (A.D. 1079–1080)[1] a certain spiteful person laid a statement before Sulṭán Ibráhím to the effect that his son, Maḥmúd Sayfu'd-Dawla, intended to go to ‘Iráq to Maliksháh. The King's jealousy was aroused, and it so worked on him that suddenly he had his son seized, bound, and interned in the fortress of Náy. His son's intimates also he arrested and interned, amongst them Mas‘úd-i-Sa‘d-i-Salmán, whom he sent to Vajíristán,[2] to

[1] The two MSS. and L. all have “572,” an evident error, for (1) Sulṭán Ibráhím the Ghaznavid reigned A.H. 451–492 (A.D. 1059–1099); (2) Maliksháh reigned A.H. 465–485 (A.D. 1072–1092); (3) the poet in question died in A.H. 515 or 525 (A.D. 1121 or 1130); (4) the *Chahár Maqála*, as we have already seen, was written during the lifetime of Sulṭán ‘Alá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn *Jahánsúz*, i.e. before A.H. 556 (A.D. 1161).

[2] So A., L.: B. has اورا ابو جیرستان. I cannot identify the word, and suspect that the reading is wrong.

the Castle of Náy; whence he sent to the King the following quatrain which he had composed:—

در بند تو ای شاه ملک شه باید ' تا بند تو پای تاجداری ساید '
آن کس که ز پشت سعد سلمان آید ' گر زهر شود ملک ترا بگزاید '

> " *O King, 't is Malikshán should wear thy chain,*
> *That royal limbs might fret with captive's pain,*
> *But Sa'd-i-Salmán's offspring could not hurt,*
> *Though venomous as poison, thy domain!*"

'Alí Kháṣṣ brought this quatrain to the King, but it produced no effect on him, though all wise and impartial critics will recognize what rank Mas'úd's poems of captivity[1] hold in lofty feeling, and what degree in eloquence. Sometimes, when I read his verses, the hair stands on end on my body, and the tears are like to trickle from my eyes. But when these verses were read to the King, and he heard them, they affected him not at all, and not one particle of his being was warmed to enthusiasm, so that he departed from this world leaving that noble man in prison. Khwája Salmán says:—[2]

مقصور شد مصالح کار جهانیان '
بر حبس و بند این تن مهجور ناتوان '
بر حبس و بند نیز ندارندم استوار '
تا گرد من ندارند ده تن نگاهبان '
هر ده نشسته بر در و در بام سجن من '
با یکدگر دمادم بگویند هر زمان '
هان بر جهید زود که حیلتگر یست او '
کز آفتاب پل کند از سایه نردبان '

[1] I adopt B.'s reading, حبسیات. A. has حیسیات; L. جلیات.

[2] These verses are inserted in the margin of A. (f. 20ᵃ) only.

گیرم کـه سـاخته شـوم از بهر کارزار ،
بیرون جهم زگوشهٔ این سجن ناگهان ،
با چند کس بر آیم در قلعه گرچه من ،
شیری شوم معربد و پیلی شوم دمان ،
پس بی سلاح جنگ چگونه کنم مگر ،
مـن سینه‌را سپر کنم و پشت‌را کمان ،

"Naught served the ends of statesmen save that I,
A helpless exile, should in fetters lie,
Nor do they deem me safe within their cells,
Unless surrounded by ten sentinels;
Which ten sit ever by the gates and walls,
And ever one unto his comrade calls:
'Ho there! On guard! This cunning rogue is one
To fashion bridge and steps from shade and sun!'
Why, grant I stood arrayed for such a fight,
And suddenly sprang forth, attempting flight,
Could elephant or raging lion hope,
Thus cramped in prison-cage, with ten to cope?
Can I, bereft of weapons, take the field,
Or make of back and bosom bow and shield?"

So, by reason of his relation to Sayfu'd-Dawla, he remained imprisoned for twelve years in the days of Sulṭán Ibráhím. And Abú Naṣr of Párs,[1] on account of his like relation, was imprisoned for eight years, though none hath been heard of who hath produced so many splendid elegies and rare gems of verse as were born of his brilliant genius. After eight[2] years Ṭáhir 'Alí of Múshkán, Thiqatu'l-Mulk,

[1] I can find no mention of a poet of this name, and am inclined to think that the author of the oldest extant Persian version of *Kalíla and Dimna* (lithographed at Tabríz, A.H. 1305) is meant. In this volume his name is given as Nidhámu'd-Dín Abu'l-Ma'álí Naṣru'lláh b. 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd, but in *M.F.* (vol. i, p. 655) as Naṣíru'd-Dín [b.] 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd-i-Fársí-i-Shírází. Some of the verses which he composed in prison are there cited.

[2] L. has 'twenty.'

brought him forth from his bondage, so that, in short, during this King's reign that illustrious man spent all his life in captivity, and the ill repute of this deed remained on this House. I hesitate as to the motives which are to be assigned to this act, and whether it is to be ascribed to strength of purpose, or a heedless nature, or hardness of heart, or a malicious disposition. In any case it was not a laudable deed, and I have never met with any sensible man who was prepared to praise that dynasty for such inflexibility of purpose or excess of caution. And I heard it remarked by the King of the World Ghiyáthu'd-Dín wa'd-Dunyá Muḥammad,[1] the son of Malikshán, at the Gates of Hamadán, on the occasion of the rebellion of his son-in-law, Amír Shihábu'd-Dín Qutulmush Alp Ghází: "It is the sign of a malicious heart to keep a foe imprisoned, for one of two things, either he means well or ill. Then, if the former, it is an injustice to keep him in prison; and if the latter, it is again an injustice to suffer an ill-doer to live." In short that misery of Mas'úd passed, while this ill repute will endure till the Resurrection.

Anecdote xix.

In the time of Sulṭán Khiḍr b. Ibráhím the power of the Kháqánís[2] was at its most flourishing period, while the strength of their administration and the respect in which it was held were such as could not be surpassed.

Now he was a wise, just, and sagacious ruler, and to him appertained the dominion of Transoxania and Turkistán, while he enjoyed the most complete security on the side of Khurásán, wherewith he was allied by friendly relations, kinship, and firm treatises and covenants. And of the

[1] The seventh Seljúq king, who reigned A.H. 498–511 (A.D. 1104–1117).

[2] The dynasty called Ilak Khans (see Lane's *Muhammadan Dynasties*, pp 134–135) seems to be meant. L. has '*Sámánís*.' Khiḍr Khán b. Abu'l-Muẓaffar 'Imádu'd-Dawla Ibráhím Tufghájj Khan reigned about A.H. 472–488 (A.D. 1079–1095).

splendour maintained by him one detail was this, that when he rode out they carried before his horse, besides other arms, seven hundred maces of gold and silver. He was, moreover, a great patron of poets, and in his service were Amír Am'aq,[1] Master Rashídí,[2] Najjár-i-Ságharchí, 'Alí Pánídí,[3] the son of Darghúsh,[4] the son of Isfaráyiní, 'Alí Sipihrí,[5] and Najíbí of Farghána, all of whom obtained rich rewards and vast honours. The Poet-laureate was Amír 'Am'aq, who had profited abundantly by that dynasty and obtained the most ample circumstance, comprising fair damsels, well-paced horses, golden vessels, sumptuous apparel, and servants, biped and quadruped, innumerable. He was greatly honoured at the King's Court, so that of necessity the other poets must needs do him reverence. Such homage as from the others he desired from Master Rashídí also, but herein he was disappointed, for Rashídí, though still young, was nevertheless learned in his art. The Lady Zaynab was the special object of his panegyrics, and he enjoyed the fullest favour of the King, who was continually praising him and asserting his merits, so that Rashídí's affairs prospered, the title of "Prince of poets"[6] was conferred on him, he continued to rise higher in the King's opinion, and from him received gifts of great value.

One day, in Rashídí's absence, the King asked 'Am'aq: "What thinkest thou of the verse of Rashídí, 'the Prince of poets'?" "His verse," replied he, "is extremely good and chaste and correct, but it wants spice."

After some while had elapsed, Rashídí came in and did obeisance, and was about to sit down when the King called him before himself, and said, teasing him as is the way of kings: "I asked the Poet-laureate just now, 'How is Rashídí's poetry?' He replied that it was good, but wanted spice. Now you must compose a quatrain on this

[1] See n. 19 on p. 46 *supra*.
[2] Mentioned briefly in the *Átashkada* amongst the poets of Máwará'u'n-Nahr.
[3] See n. 22 on p. 46 *supra*.
[4] See n. 23 on p. 46 *supra*.
[5] See n. 1 on p. 47 *supra*.
[6] Sayyidu'sh-Shu'ará.

subject." Rashídí, with a bow, sat down in his place and improvised the following fragment:—

شعرهـای مرا بـه بیمنـمکی ' عیب کـردی روا بود شاید '
شعرمن همچو شکّر و شهدست ' و اندرین دو نمک نکو ناآید '
شلغم و باقلاسـت گفتهٔ تـو ' نمک ای قلتبان تـرا باید '

> *" You stigmatize my verse as 'wanting spice,'*
> *And possibly, my friend, you may be right.*
> *My verse is honey-flavoured, sugar-sweet,*
> *And spice with such could scarcely cause delight.*
> *Spice is for you, you blackguard, not for me,*
> *For beans and turnips is the stuff you write ! "*

When he recited these verses the King was mightily pleased. And in Transoxania it is the custom and practice to place in the audience-chambers of kings and others gold and silver in trays which they call *sím-ṭáqá* or *ju̇ft*;[1] and in this audience of Khiḍr Khán's there were set four trays of red gold, each containing two hundred and fifty dínárs; and these he used to dispense by the handful. On this day he ordered Rashídí to receive all four trays, so he obtained the highest honour, and became famous. For just as a patron becomes famous by the verse of a good poet, so do poets likewise achieve renown by receiving a great reward from the king, these two things being interdependent.

Anecdote XX.

Master Abu'l-Qásim Firdawsí[2] was one of the Dihqáns of Ṭús, from a village called Bázh, in the district of

[1] A. . . سیم طاقا یا ; B. . . سیم طاق یا ; L. . . سیم طاق و .

[2] This anecdote is cited by Ibn Isfandiyár in his *History of Ṭabaristán* (A.H. 613, A.D. 1216: see Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 202–204 and 533*b*), whence it was excerpted and published, with a German translation, by Ethé (*Z.D.M.G.*, vol. xlviii, pp. 89–94). It was also utilized by Noeldeke in his *Iranische Nationulepos* (*Grundriss d. Iran. Philologie*, vol. ii, p. 150 et seqq.).

Ṭabarán,[1] a large village capable of supplying a thousand men. There Firdawsí enjoyed an excellent position, so that he was rendered quite independent of his neighbours by the income which he derived from his lands, and he had but one child, a daughter. His one desire in putting the Book of Kings (*Sháhnáma*) into verse was, out of the reward which he might obtain for it, to supply her with an adequate dowry. And to this end he left nothing undone, raising his verse as high as heaven, and causing it in sweet fluency to resemble running water. What genius, indeed, could raise verse to such a height as he does in the letter written by Zál to Sám the son of Narímán in Mázandarán, when he desired to ally himself with Rúdába the daughter of the King of Kábul:—[2]

یکی نامه فرمود نزدیک سام ' سراسر درود و نوید و سلام '
نخست از جهان آفرین یاد کرد ' که هم داد فرمود و هم داد کرد '
وزو باد بر سام نیرم درود ' خداوند شمشیر و گوپال و خود '
چمانندهٔ چرمه هنگام کرد ' چرانندهٔ کرگس اندر نبرد '
فزایندهٔ باد آوردگاه ' فشانندهٔ خون ز ابر سیاه '
بمردی هنر در هنر ساخته ' هنرش از هنر گردن افراخته '

"Then to Sám straightway sent he a letter,
Filled with fair praises, prayers, and good greeting.
First made he mention of the World-Maker,
Who doom dispenseth and doom fulfilleth.
'On Niram's son Sám,' wrote he, 'the sword-lord,
Mail-clad and mace-girt, may the Lord's peace rest!
Hurler of horse troops in hot-contested fights,
Feeder of carrion-fowls with foemen's flesh-feast,

[1] A., B., L. all have "Ṭabaristán." See, however, Noeldeke, loc. cit., p. 151.

[2] These verses (with some variants) will be found on pp. 124–5 of vol. i of Turner Macan's edition of the *Sháhnáma* (Calcutta, 1829).

Raising the roar of strife on the red war-field,
From the grim war-clouds grinding the gore-shower.
Who, by his manly might merit on merit
Heaps, till his merit merit outmeasures.'" [1]

In eloquence I know of no poetry in Persian which equals this, and but little even in Arabic.

When Firdawsí had completed the *Sháhnáma*, it was transcribed by 'Alí Daylam [2] and recited by Abú Dulaf,[2] both of whom he mentions by name in tendering his thanks to Ha'íy-i-Quṭayba,[3] the governor of Ṭús, who had conferred on Firdawsí many favours:—

ازین نامه از نامداران شهر ' علی دیلم و بو دلف راست بهر '
نیامد جز أحسنتشان بهره‌ام ' بگفت اندر أحسنتشان زهره‌ام '
حئیّ قتیبه است از آزادگان ' که از من نخواهد سخن رایگان '
نَیَم آگه از اصل و فرع خراج ' همی غلطم اندر میان دواج '

"Of the men of renown of this city 'Alí Daylam and Abú Dulaf have participated in this book.
From them my portion was naught save 'Well done!'
My gall-bladder was like to burst with their 'Well dones.' [4]
Ha'iy the son of Qutayba is a nobleman who asks me not for unrewarded verse.
I am cognizant neither of the principles nor the applications of tax-collecting;
I lounge [at ease] in the midst of my quilt." [5]

[1] Poor as this rendering is, I am strongly of opinion that for an English rendering of the *Sháhnáma* (which always seems to me very analogous in aim, scope, and treatment to that little-read English epic, the Brut of Layamon), the old English alliterative verse would be the most suitable form.

[2] See Noeldeke, loc. cit., p. 153, and n. 2 *ad calc.*

[3] So A. and L. B. has the more usual "Ḥusayn b. Qutayb." Cf. Noeldeke, loc. cit.

[4] i.e., I am sick of their barren and unprofitable plaudits. As these poor men rendered him material service in other ways, Firdawsí's remarks seem rather ungrateful.

[5] What follows is evidently an explanation of this couplet. Firdawsí means that being no longer vexed with the exactions of the tax-gatherer, he can now repose in peace.

Ḥa'íy the son of Qutayba was the revenue-collector of Ṭús, and deemed it his duty at least to abate the taxes payable by Firdawsí; hence naturally his name will endure till the Resurrection and kings will read it.

So 'Alí Daylam transcribed the *Sháhnáma* in seven volumes, and Firdawsí, taking with him Abú Dulaf, set out for Ghazna. There, by the help of the great Minister Aḥmad Ḥasan[1] the secretary, he presented it, and it was accepted, Sulṭán Maḥmúd expressing himself as greatly indebted to his Minister. But the Prime Minister had enemies who were continually casting the dust of perturbation into the cup of his position, and Maḥmúd consulted with them as to what he should give Firdawsí. They replied: "Fifty thousand dirhams, and even that is too much, seeing that he is in belief a Ráfiḍí and a Mu'tazilite. Of his Mu'tazilite views this verse is a proof:—

به بینندگان آفریننده‌را ' نبینی مرنجان دو بیننده‌را '

' Thy gaze the Creator can never descry;
Then wherefore, by gazing, dost weary thine eye?'

" while to his Ráfiḍí proclivities these verses of his witness:

خداوند[2] گیتی چو دریا نهاد ' بر انگیخته موج از آن تند باد '
چو هفتاد کشتی دران ساخته ' همه بادبانها برافراخته '
میانه یکی خوب کشتی عروس ' بر آراسته همچو چشم خروس '
پیمبر بدو اندران با علی ' همه اهل بیت نبی و ولی '
اگر خلد خواهی بدیگر سرای ' بنزد نبیّ و وصی گیر جای '
گرت زین بد آید گناه منست ' چنین دان و این راه راه منست '
برین زادم و هم برین بگذرم ' یقین دان که خاک پی حیدرم '

[1] So A., B., and L. Noeldeke (loc. cit., p. 153) has Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad.
[2] Both MSS. have خردمند.

'When the Lord of the World established the Sea, the fierce wind stirred up waves thereon,
Thereon, as it were, seventy ships wrought, all with sails set.
Amongst them one vessel, fair as a bride, decked with colour like the eye of the cock,
Therein the Prophet with 'Alí, and all the household of the Prophet and his Vicar.
If thou desirest Paradise in the other World, take thy place by the Prophet and his Trustee.
If ill accrues to thee thereby, it is my fault: know this, that this way is my way.
In this I was born, and in this I will pass away: know for a surety that I am as dust at the feet of 'Alí.'"

Now Sulṭán Maḥmúd was a zealot, and he listened to these imputations and caught hold of them, and, to be brief, only twenty[1] thousand dirhams were paid to Ḥakím Firdawsí. He was bitterly disappointed, went to the bath, and, on coming out, bought a drink of sherbet,[2] and divided the money between the bath-man and the sherbet-seller. Knowing, however, Maḥmúd's severity, he fled from Ghazna, and alighted in Herát at the shop of Azraqí's father, Isma'íl the bookseller (*Warráq*), where he remained in hiding for six months, until Maḥmúd's messengers had reached Ṭús and had turned back thence, when Firdawsí, feeling secure, set out from Herát for Ṭús, taking the *Sháhnáma* with him. Thence he came to Ṭabaristán to the Sipahbad Shír-zád of the House of Bávand, who was king there; and this is a noble house which traces its descent from Yazdigird the son of Shahriyár.

Then Firdawsí wrote a satire on Sulṭán Maḥmúd in the Preface, and read a hundred couplets to Shír-zád,[3] saying: "I will dedicate this *Sháhnáma* to you instead of to Sulṭán Maḥmúd, for this book deals wholly with the legends and deeds of thy forebears." Shír-zád treated him with honour

[1] So A. and B., but L. has "sixty thousand."
[2] *Fuqá'*, described as a kind of beer.
[3] Cf. Noeldeke, loc. cit., p. 155, and n. 4 *ad calc.*, where this ruler's name is given as the Ispahbad Shahriyár b. Sharzín.

and showed him many kindnesses, and said: "Maḥmúd was induced to act thus by others, who did not submit your book to him under proper conditions, and misrepresented you. Moreover, you are a Shí'ite, and to one who loves the Family of the Prophet nothing will happen which did not happen to them. Maḥmúd is my liege-lord; let the *Sháhnáma* stand in his name, and give me the satire which you have written on him, that I may expunge it and give you some little recompense; and Maḥmúd will surely summon thee and seek to satisfy thee fully. Do not, then, throw away the labour spent on such a book." And next day he sent Firdawsí 100,000 dirhams, saying: "I buy each couplet at a thousand dirhams; give me those hundred couplets, and rest satisfied therewith." So Firdawsí sent him these verses, and he ordered them to be expunged; and Firdawsí also destroyed his rough copy of them, so that this satire was done away with, and only these few verses remained :—[1]

مرا غمزه کردند کآن پرسخن ' بمهر نبیّ و علی شد کهن '
اگر مهرشان من حکایت کنم ' چو محمودرا صد حمایت کنم '
پرستار زاده نیآید بکار ' وگرچند باشد پدر شهریار[2] '
به نیکی نبد شاهرا دستگاه ' وگرنه مرا بر نشاندی بگاه '
چو اندر تبارش بزرگی نبود ' ندانست نام بزرگان شنود '

"*They cast imputations on me, saying: 'That man of many words*
Hath grown old in the love of the Prophet and 'Alí.'
If I speak of my love for these
I can protect a hundred such as Maḥmúd.

[1] This is a remarkable statement, and, if true, would involve the assumption that the well-known satire, as we have it, is spurious. Cf. Noeldeke (loc. cit.), pp. 155–156, and n. 1 on the latter.

[2] A. adds another couplet here as follows :—

ازین در سخن چند رانم همی ' چو دریا کرانه ندانم همی '

No good can come of the son of a slave,
Even though his father hath ruled as King.
The King had no aptitude for good,
Else would he have seated me on a throne.
Since in his family there was no nobility
He could not bear to hear the names of the noble."

In truth good service was rendered to Maḥmúd by Shír-zád, and Maḥmúd was greatly indebted to him.

When I was at Níshápúr in the year A.H. 514 (A.D. 1120–1121), I heard Amír Mu'izzí say that he had heard Amír 'Abdu'r-Razzáq at Ṭús relate as follows:—"Maḥmúd was once in India, and was returning thence towards Ghazna. On the way, as it chanced, there was a rebellious chief possessed of a strong fortress, and next day Maḥmúd encamped at the gates of it, and sent an ambassador to him, bidding him come before him on the morrow, do homage, pay his respects at the Court, receive a robe of honour and return to his place. Next day Maḥmúd rode out with the Prime Minister on his right hand, for the ambassador had turned back and was coming to meet the king. 'I wonder,' said the latter to the Minister, 'what answer he will have given?' The Minister replied:

'اگر جز بکام من آید جواب ' من و گرز و میدان افراسیاب '

'Should the answer come contrary to my wish,
Then for me the mace and the arena of [combat with]
Afrásiyáb.'

'Whose verse,' enquired Maḥmúd, 'is that? For he must have the heart of a man.' 'Poor Abu'l-Qásim Firdawsí composed it,' answered the Minister; 'he who laboured for five and twenty years to complete such a work, and reaped from it no advantage.' 'You speak well,' said Maḥmúd; 'I deeply regret that this noble man was disappointed by me. Remind me at Ghazna to send him something.'

"So when the Sultan returned to Ghazna, the Minister reminded him; and Maḥmúd ordered Firdawsí to be given

sixty thousand dínárs' worth of indigo, and that this indigo should be carried to Ṭús on the King's own camels, and that apologies should be made to Firdawsí. For years the Minister had been working for this, and at length he had achieved his work; so now he caused the camels to be loaded, and the indigo arrived safely at Ṭabarán.[1] But as the camels were entering through the Rúdbár Gate, the corpse of Firdawsí was being borne forth from the Gate of Razán.[2] Now at this time there was in Ṭabarán a preacher whose fanaticism was such that he declared that he would not suffer Firdawsí's body to be buried in the Musulmán Cemetery, because he was a Ráfiḍí; and nothing that men could say served to move this doctor. Now outside the gate there was a garden belonging to Firdawsí, and there they buried him, and there he lies to this day." And in the year A.H. 510 (A.D. 1116–1117) I visited his tomb.[3]

They say that Firdawsí left a daughter, of very lofty spirit, to whom they would have given the King's gift; but she would not accept it, saying, "I need it not." The Post-master wrote to the Court and represented this to the King, who ordered that doctor to be expelled from Ṭabarán as a punishment for his officiousness, and to be exiled from his home, and the money to be given to the Imám Abú Bakr Isḥáq for the repair of the rest-house of Cháha,[4] which stands on the road between Merv and Níshápúr on the boundaries of Ṭús. When this order reached Ṭús and Níshápúr, it was faithfully carried out; and the restoration of the rest-house of Cháha was effected by this money.

[1] Ṭabarán is the name of a portion of the city of Ṭús. See B. de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, pp. 374–375.

[2] Noeldeke (loc. cit., p. 157, and n. 2 *ad calc.*) has *Razzáq* for *Razán*, but A., B., and L. all agree in the latter reading. There are several places called *Rúdbár*, of which one situated near Ṭabarán is probably meant. See B. de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 266. A *Razán* in Sístán is mentioned by *Baládhurí* (pp. 396–397), and another (رزان) in the district of Nasá in Khurásán. (*Dict. de la Perse*, p. 259.)

[3] I am not sure at what point the inverted commas should be inserted, but the last sentence of this paragraph is certainly Nidhámí's.

[4] So B. and L. A. has *Jáha*.

Anecdote xxi.

At the period when I was in the service of that martyred prince the King of the Mountains (may God illuminate his tomb and exalt his station in Paradise!), that august personage had a high opinion of me, and showed himself a most generous patron towards me. Now on the Festival of the Breaking of the Fast one of the nobles of the city of Balkh (may God maintain its prosperity!), Amír 'Amíd Ṣafiyyu'd-Dín Abú Bakr[1] Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn Rawánsháhí, came to the Court. He was a young man, an expert writer, a qualified Secretary of State, well endowed with culture and its fruits, popular with all, whose praises were on all tongues. And at this time I was not in attendance.

Now at a reception the King chanced to say, "Call Nidhámí." Said the Amír 'Amíd Ṣafiyyu'd-Dín, "Is Nidhámí here?" They answered "Yes." But he supposed that it was Nidhámí-i-Munírí.[2] "Ah," said he, "a fine poet and a man of wide fame!" When the messenger arrived to summon me, I put on my shoes, and, as I entered, did obeisance, and sat down in my place. When the wine had gone round several times, Amír 'Amíd said, "Nidhámí has not come." "He is come," replied the King; "see, there he is, seated in such-and-such a place." "I am not speaking of this Nidhámí," answered Amír 'Amíd; "that Nidhámí of whom I speak is another one, and as for this one, I do not even know him." Thereupon I saw that the King was vexed; he at once turned to me and said, "Is there another Nidhámí besides thee?" "Yes, sire," I answered, "there are two other Nidhámís, one of Samarqand, whom they call Nidhámí-i-Munírí, and one of Nísháp̀úr, whom they call Nidhámí-i-Athírí; while me they call Nidhámí-i-'Arúḍí." "Art thou better, or they?" demanded he. Then Amír 'Amíd perceived that

[1] L. adds 'ibn.'

[2] The reading of this *nisba* is very doubtful in all three texts, both here and lower. In some it appears to read *Minbarí*.

he had spoken ill, and that the King was annoyed. "Sire," said he, "those two Nidhámís are quarrelsome fellows, apt to break up social gatherings by their quarrelsomeness, and to cause trouble, and to do mischief." "Wait," said the King jestingly, "till you see this one drain a bumper and break up the meeting:[1] but of these three Nidhámís which is the best poet?" "Of those two," said the Amír 'Amíd, "I have personal knowledge, having seen them, while this one I have not previously seen, nor have I heard his poetry. If he will compose a couple of verses on this subject which we have been discussing, so that I may see his talents and hear his verse, I will tell you which of these three is best."

Then the King turned to me, saying: "Now, O Nidhámí, do not shame us: say what 'Amíd desires."

Now at that time, when I was in the service of this King, I possessed a copious talent and a brilliant genius, and the favours and gifts of my master had stimulated me to such a point that my improvisations came fluent as running water; so I took up a pen, and, ere the wine-cup had gone twice round, composed these five couplets and submitted them to the King:—

در جهان سه نظامییم ای شاه ' که جهانی ز ما بافغانند '
من بورسا به پیش تخت شهم ' و آن دو در مَرْو پیش سلطانند '
بحقیقت که در سخن امروز ' هر یکی مفخر خراسانند '
گرچه همچون روان سخن گویند ' ورچه همچون خرد سخن دانند '
من شرابم که شان چو در یابم ' هر دو از کار خود فرو مانند '

[1] L., which I follow, has: ' . . که قدحی بخورد و مجلس را برهم زند
A. has: . . که پنج قدح سنگی بخورد . . B. has: . . بیقدح سنگی بخورد . .

"We are three Nidhámis in the world, O King, on account of whom a whole world is filled with outcry.
I am at Warsá before the King's throne, while those two others are in Merv before the Sultan.
To-day, in truth, in verse each one is the Pride of Khurásán.
Although they utter verse subtle as spirit, and although they understand the Art of Speech like Wisdom,
I am the Wine, for, when I get hold of them, both desist from their work."

When I submitted these verses, the Amír 'Amíd Ṣafiyyu'd-Dín bowed and said: "O King, let alone the Nidhámís, I know of no poet in all Transoxania, 'Iráq, or Khurásán capable of improvising five such verses, more especially in respect of strength, energy, and sweetness, conjoined with such grace of diction and filled with ideas so original. Rejoice, O Nidhámí, for thou hast no peer on the face of the earth. O sire, he hath a graceful wit, a mind swift to apprehend, and a finished art. By the good fortune of the King of the age and his generosity he hath developed into a unique genius, and will even become more than this, for he is young and hath many days before him."

Thereat the countenance of my King and Lord brightened mightily, and a great cheerfulness appeared in his gracious temperament, and he applauded me, saying: "I give thee the lead-mine of Warsá from this Festival until the Festival of the Sheep-sacrifice. Send an agent there." I did so, sending Isḥáq the Jew. It was the middle of summer, and while they were working it they melted much of the ore, so that in seventy days twelve thousand maunds of lead[1] accrued to me, while the King's opinion of me was increased a thousand-fold. May God (blessed and exalted is He) illuminate his august ashes with the light of His approval,[2] by His Favour and Grace!

[1] A., B. here add: از آن خمس.

[2] A. adds after کنناد:— و جان شریف اورا بجمیع غنا مسرور بمنه الخ

Third Discourse.

On the Nature of the Lore of the Stars, and on the Expert Astrologer.

Abú Rayḥán Bírúní says in the first chapter of his "Explanation of the Science of Astrology" (*Kitábu't-Tafhím fí ṣaná'ati 't-tanjím*[1]): "A man does not deserve the title of Astrologer until he attains proficiency in four sciences: *first*, Mathematics; *secondly*, Arithmetic; *thirdly*, Cosmography; and *fourthly*, Judicial Astrology."

Now *Mathematical Science* is that whereby are known the natures and qualities of lines and geometrical figures, plain and solid, and the general relations of quantities, and what partakes of the quantitative nature, to what has position and form. It includes the principles of the Book of Euclid the geometrician[2] in the recension of Thábit ibn Qurra.[3]

Arithmetic is that science whereby are known the natures of all sorts of numbers;[4] the nature of their relation to one another; their generation from each other; and the applications thereof, such as halving, doubling, multiplication, division, addition, subtraction, and Algebra. The principles thereof are contained in the book of the *Ἀριθμήτικη*, and the applications in the "Supplement" (*Takmila*) of Abú Manṣúr of Baghdad,[5] and the "Hundred Chapters" (*Ṣad Báb*) of as-Sajzí.[6]

[1] See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 451–2, where a MS. of the Persian version of this work, dated A.H. 685 (A.D. 1286), is described.

[2] I suppose that this is the meaning of مُجّار in the text.

[3] I take this to be the sense of L.'s reading: که ثابت بن قرّه دستی کرده است. For دستی A. appears to read وستی and B. دسبی. Concerning Thábit b. Qurra, see Wüstenfeld's *Gesch. d. Arabischen Aerzte*, pp. 34–36; Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litteratur*, pp. 217, 218, etc. He was born in A.H. 221 (A.D. 836) and died A.H. 288 (A.D. 901).

[4] A. adds و خاصّه هر نوعی از در نفس خویش.

[5] Abú Manṣúr 'Abdu'l-Qáhir b. Ṭáhir al-Baghdádí, d. A.H. 429 (A.D. 1037). See Hájí Khalífa, No. 3,253.

[6] Abú Sa'íd Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-Jalíl as-Sajzí (or Sijazí, i.e of Sajistán or Sístán). See Brockelmann, op. cit., p. 219.

Cosmography is that science whereby are known the natures of the Celestial and Terrestrial Bodies,[1] their shapes and positions, their relations to one another, and the measurements and distances which are between them, together with the nature of the movements of each one of the stars and heavens, and the co-ordination of the spheres, axes, and circles whereby these movements are fulfilled. It includes a knowledge of the Al-Magest and the best of its commentaries and elucidations, which are the Commentary of Tabrízí[2] and the Al-Magest of Shifá. And amongst the applications of this science is the science of the Calendar and of Almanacs.

Judicial Astrology is a branch of Natural Science, and its special use is prognostication, by which is meant the deducing by analogy from configurations, and from an estimation of the degrees and zodiacal signs and their influences, those events which are brought about by their movements, in respect to the condition of the cycles of the world, politics, cities, nativities, changes, transitions, decisions, and other questions; and it is contained in these five [books] which we have enumerated, to wit, the writings of Abú Ma'shar of Balkh,[3] Aḥmad 'Abdu'l-Jalíl-i-Sajzí, Abú Rayḥán Bírúní, and Gúshyár-i-Jílí.[4]

So the Astrologer must be a man of acute mind, approved character, and great natural intelligence. And one of the essentials of this art is that the astrologer who would pronounce prognostications should possess in his own horoscope the Share of the Unseen, and that the Lord of the House of this Share of the Unseen should be lucky, and in a favourable position, in order that such pronouncements as he gives may be near the truth. And one of the

[1] For اجرام ("bodies") A., B. have اجزاء عالم, "the nature of the constituent parts of the Celestial and Terrestrial Realms."

[2] See the long article on *al-Majistí* in Hájí Khalífa (No. 11,413). The *Tabrízí* intended is probably al-Faḍl b. Ḥátim of Tabríz.

[3] See Brockelmann, op. cit., pp. 221, 222.

[4] See ibid., pp. 222, 223. Both forms of the *nisba* (Jílí and Jabalí) are found in the texts.

conditions of being a good astrologer is that he should have in mind the whole of the "Principia" (*Uṣúl*) of Gúshyár, and should continually study the "Opus Majus,"[1] and should look frequently into the *Qánún-i-Mas'údí*[2] and the *Jámi'-i-Sháhí*, so that his knowledge and concepts may be refreshed.

Anecdote xxii.

Ya'qúb b. Isḥáq al-Kindí,[3] though he was a Jew, was the philosopher of his age and the wisest man of his time, and stood high in the service of al-Ma'mún. One day he came in before al-Ma'mún, and sat down above one of the Imáms of Islám. Said this man, "Thou art of a subject race;[4] why, then, dost thou sit above the Imáms of Islám?" "Because," said Ya'qúb, "I know what thou knowest, while thou knowest not what I know."

Now this person knew of his skill in Astrology, but had no knowledge of his other attainments in science. "I will write down," said he, "something on a piece of paper, and if thou canst divine what I have written, I will admit your claim." Then they laid a wager, on the part of this person a cloak, and on the part of Ya'qúb a mule and its trappings, worth a thousand dínárs, which was standing at the door. Then the former asked for an inkstand and paper, wrote something on a piece of paper, placed it under the Caliph's quilt, and cried, "Out with it!" Ya'qúb b. Isḥáq asked for a tray of earth, rose up, took the altitude, ascertained the ascendant, drew an astrological table on the tray of earth, determined the positions of the stars, fixed the signs of the Zodiac, worked out the subjective conditions and

[1] و کار مهتر پیوسته مطالعه می کند. From the context, some book would seem to be intended.

[2] By Abú Rayḥán al-Bírúní. See *Hájí Khalífa*, No. 9,359.

[3] See Wüstenfeld's *Gesch. d. Arab. Aerzte*, pp. 21, 22. He died about A.H. 260 (A.D. 873).

[4] تو مرد ذمّی باشی،

affinities,[1] and said, "On that paper he has written something which was first a plant and then an animal" Al-Ma'mún put his hand under the quilt and drew forth the paper, on which was written "The Rod of Moses." Al-Ma'mún was filled with wonder and expressed his astonishment. Then Ya'qúb took the cloak of his adversary, and cut it in two before al-Ma'mún, saying, "I will make it into two . . . ."[2]

This matter became generally known in Baghdad, whence it spread to 'Iráq and throughout Khurásán, and was widely discussed. A certain doctor of Balkh, prompted by that fanatical zeal which characterizes the learned, obtained a book on Astrology and placed a knife in the middle of it, intending to go to Baghdad, attend the lectures of Ya'qúb b. Isḥáq al-Kindí, make a beginning in Astrology, and, when he should find a suitable opportunity, suddenly kill him. Stage by stage he advanced, until he went in to the hot bath and came out, arrayed himself in clean clothes, and, placing this book in his sleeve, set out for Ya'qúb's house.

When he reached the gate of the house, he saw standing there many handsomely-caparisoned horses belonging to descendants of the Prophet[3] and other eminent and noble persons of Baghdad. Having made enquiries, he went in, entered the circle in front of Ya'qúb, greeted him, and said, "I desire to study somewhat of the science of the stars with our Master." "Thou hast come from the East to slay me on a pretence of studying Astrology," replied Ya'qúb, "but thou wilt repent of thine intention, study the stars, and

[1] Neither the meaning nor the wording of this sentence is clear to me. L. has شرایط خبی و ضمیر بعمل آورد. For خبی A. and B. have جی or حبی, the reading being uncertain.

[2] Some sort of garment seems to be meant, but neither the reading nor the meaning is clear. L. has و دو پاره‌را فتات کنم; A., دو پاقتابه کنم; B., دو بافتابه کنم.

[3] Literally, "of the Banú Háshim."

attain perfection in that science, and wilt become one of the greatest Astrologers in the Church of Muḥammad (on whom be God's Blessing and Peace)." All the great men there assembled were astonished; and Abú Ma'shar[1] confessed and produced the knife from the middle of the book, broke it, and cast it away. Then he bent his knees and studied for fifteen years, until he reached that eminence which he reached in Astrology.

Anecdote xxiii.

It is stated that once when Sulṭán Maḥmúd b. Náṣiru'd-Dín[2] was sitting on the roof of a four-doored summer-house in Ghazna, in the Garden of a Thousand Trees, he turned his face to Abú Rayḥán[3] and said, "By which of these four doors shall I go out?" (for all four were practicable) "Decide, and write the decision on a piece of paper, and put it under my quilt." Abú Rayḥán called for an astrolabe, took the altitude, worked out the ascendant, reflected for a while, and then wrote down his decision on a piece of paper, and placed it under the quilt. "Hast thou decided?" asked Maḥmúd. He answered, "Yes."

Then Maḥmúd bade them make an opening in the wall, and they brought mattocks and spades, and in the wall which was on the eastern side dug out a fifth door, through which he went out. Then he bade them bring the paper. So they brought it, and on it was written: "He will go out through none of these four doors, but they will dig a fifth door on the side of the eastern wall, by which door he will go forth." Maḥmúd, on reading this, was furious, and bade them cast Abú Rayḥán down from the midst of the palace. So they did even as he had said. Now

[1] See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litteratur*, pp. 221, 222.

[2] i.e. the great Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazna (reigned A.H. 388-421, A.D. 998-1030).

[3] i.e. the celebrated al-Bírúní, of whom mention has been already made.

a net had been stretched here to keep off the flies,[1] and on it Abú Rayḥán fell. The net tore, and he subsided gently to the ground, so that he received no injury. "Bring him in," said Maḥmúd. So they brought him in, and Maḥmúd said: "O Abú Rayḥán, didst thou know this?" "I knew it, sire," he answered, and, taking the Almanac from the servant, produced the prognostications out of the Almanac;[2] and amongst the predictions for that day was written: "To-day they will cast me down from a high place, but I shall reach the earth in safety, and arise sound in body."

All this was not according to Maḥmúd's mind. He waxed still angrier, and ordered Abú Rayḥán to be detained in the citadel. So Abú Rayḥán was confined in the citadel of Ghazna, where he remained for six months. It is said that during that period of six months none dared speak to Maḥmúd about Abú Rayḥán, one of whose servants was, however, deputed to wait upon him, and to go out to get what he wanted, and to return therewith. One day this servant was passing through the Park of Ghazna,[3] when a fortune-teller called to him and said, "I perceive several things worth mentioning in your fortune: give me a present, that I may reveal them to you." The servant gave him two dirhams, whereupon the soothsayer said: "One dear to thee is in affliction, but ere three days are past he will be delivered from that affliction, will be invested with a robe of honour, and will again be loaded with honours and favours."

The servant proceeded to the citadel, and told this incident to his master as a piece of good tidings. Abú

[1] This seems to be the meaning of L.'s reading: مگر راه مگس‌را دامی بسته بودند. A. and B. are illegible. The former seems to have, مگر تا سام سالکش‌را ; مگر با شام سالکش‌را دامی . . the latter, دامی . .

[2] و تحویل از میان تقویم بیرون کرد

[3] بسر مرغزار غزنین . .

Rayḥán smiled and said, "O foolish fellow, dost thou not know that on such occasions one ought not to stand still? Thou hast informed me too late."[1] It is said that the Prime Minister Aḥmad Ḥasan of Maymand (may God be merciful to him!) was for six months seeking an opportunity to say a word on behalf of Abú Rayḥán. At length, when engaged in the chase, he found the King in a good humour, and, working from one topic to another, he brought the conversation round to Astrology. Then he said: "Poor Abú Rayḥán uttered two such good prognostications, and instead of decorations and a robe of honour obtained bonds and imprisonment." "Know, my lord," replied Maḥmúd, "for I have proved it,[2] that this man is said to have no equal in the world save Abú 'Alí Síná (Avicenna), but both his prognostications were opposed to my will; and kings are like little children[3]—in order to receive rewards from them, one should speak in accordance with their opinion. It would have been better for him on that day if one of those two prognostications had been wrong. But to-morrow order him to be brought forth, and to be given a horse caparisoned with gold, a royal robe, a satin turban, a thousand dínárs, a slave, and a handmaiden."

So, on the very day specified by the soothsayer, they brought forth Abú Rayḥán, and the gift of honour detailed above was conferred upon him, and the King apologized to him, saying: "If thou desirest always to reap advantage from me, speak according to my desire, not according to the dictates of thy science." So thereafter Abú Rayḥán altered his practice; and this is one of the conditions of the service of kings, that one must be with them in right or wrong, and speak according to their wish.

Now when Abú Rayḥán reached his house, the learned

[1] Instead of this sentence A. has: "Thou hast wasted two dirhams."

[2] I follow L., which reads: بدان ای خواجه و من یافته ام. A. has: خواجه بدان که من ندانسته ام

[3] A. omits this simile.

came to congratulate him. He related to them the incident of the soothsayer, whereat they were amazed, and sent to summon him. They found him most illiterate, knowing nothing. Then Abú Rayḥán said, "Hast thou the horoscope of thy nativity?" "I have," replied he. Then Abú Rayḥán examined it, and the Share of the Unseen fell directly on the degree of his Ascendant,[1] so that whatever he said, though he spoke blindly, came near to the truth.

Anecdote xxiv.

I had in my employment a woman-servant, who was born on the 28th of Ṣafar, A.H. 510[2] (=July 12th, A.D. 1116), when the Moon was in conjunction with the Sun and there was no distance between them, so that both the Share of Fortune and the Share of the Unseen fell on the degree of the Ascendant. When she reached the age of fifteen years, I taught her Astrology, in which she became so skilful that she could answer difficult questions in this science, and her prognostications came very near the truth. Ladies used to come to her and question her, and the most part of what she said coincided with the pre-ordained decrees of fate.

One day an old woman came and said: "It is now four years since a son of mine went on a journey, and I have no news of him, neither of his life nor of his death. See whether, wherever he may be, he is of the living or the dead." So the woman-astrologer arose, took the altitude, worked out the degree of the Ascendant, drew out an astrological table, and determined the positions of the stars; and the very first words she said were, "Thy son hath returned!"

The old woman was annoyed and said: "O child, I have no hopes of my son's coming: tell me this much, is he alive or dead?"

[1] سهم الغيبش بر حاقّ درجهٔ طالع افتاده بود . .

[2] A. has "512."

"I tell you," said the other, "thy son hath come. Go, and, if he hath not come, return, that I may tell thee how he is."

So the old woman went to her house, and lo! her son had arrived and was unloading his asses. She embraced him, took off her veil, and came back to the woman-astrologer, saying, "Thou didst speak truly; my son hath come, bringing presents"; and she gave her her blessing. When I came home and heard tidings of this, I enquired of her, "By what didst thou speak, and from what House didst thou deduce this prognostication?" She answered: "I had not reached so far as this. When I had finished the figure of the Ascendant, he came in and sat down on the letter of the degree of the Ascendant, wherefore it so seemed in my mind, that this young man had returned. When I said so, and the mother had gone to find out, it became so certain to me that it was as though I actually saw him unloading his asses."

Then I perceived that it was the Share of the Unseen, and nothing else but this, which thus influenced the degree of the Ascendant.

Anecdote XXV.

Maḥmúd Dá'údí, the son of Abu'l-Qásim Dá'údí, was a great fool, nay, almost a madman, and had no considerable knowledge as to the actions of the stars; yet he could cast a nativity, and in his notebook were figures declaring "it is" or "it is not." He was in the service of Amír Dá'úd Abú Bakr Mas'úd at Panj-dih; and his prognostications generally came right.

Now his madness was such that when my master the King of the Mountains sent him a pair of Ghúrí dogs, very large and formidable, he fought with them of his own free-will, and escaped from them in safety. Years afterwards we were sitting with a number of persons of learning in the Perfumers' Market at Herát, in the shop of Muqrí

the surgeon-druggist,[1] and discussing all manner of subjects. One of these learned men happening to remark, "What a great man was Avicenna (Ibn Síná)!" I saw Dá'údí fly into a passion, all the possession of anger appearing in and overcoming him, and he cried: "O so-and-so, who was Abú 'Alí? I regard myself as equal in worth to a thousand Abú 'Alí's, for he never even fought with a cat, whilst I fought before Amír Dá'úd with two dogs." So on that day I knew him to be mad; yet for all his madness I witnessed the following occurrence.

In the year A.H. 505[2] (A.H. 1111–1112), when Sulṭán Sanjar encamped in the Plain of Khúzán,[3] on his way to Transoxania to fight with Muḥammad,[4] Amír Dá'úd attached himself to the King, and made a great entertainment for him. On the third day the King came to the river-brink, and entered a boat to amuse himself with fishing. In the boat he summoned Dá'údí before him to talk after the manner of madmen, while he laughed, for Dá'údí would openly abuse Amír Dá'úd.

Presently the King said to him, "Prognosticate how many maunds the fish which I shall catch this time will weigh." Dá'údí said, "Draw up your hook." So the king drew it up; and he took the altitude, paused for a while, and then said, "Now cast it." The King cast, and he said, "I prognosticate that this fish which you will draw out will weigh five maunds." "O knave," said Amír Dá'úd, "whence should fish of five maunds' weight come into this stream?" "Be silent," said Dá'údí; "what do you know about it?" So Amír Dá'úd was silent, fearing that, should he insist further, he would only get abuse.

[1] The readings differ here. L. has . . بدکان مقری عطّار طبیب . A., B. have . . بر دکان مقری حدّاد طبیب .

[2] A. has 508.

[3] See Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, pp. 215, 216. A. reads *Kház*, B. *Kházá*.

[4] Apparently his brother, Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Abú Shujá' Muḥammad the Seljúq is meant. He reigned A.H. 498–511 (A.D. 1104–1117).

Suddenly there was a pull on the line, indicating that a fish had been taken captive. The King drew in the line with a very large fish on it, which, when weighed, scaled five[1] maunds. All were amazed, and expressed their astonishment. "Dá'údí," said the King, "what dost thou wish for?" "O King," said he with an obeisance, "of all that is on this earth I desire but a coat of mail, a shield, and a spear, that I may do battle with Báwardí." And this Abáwardí was the Captain of Amír Dá'úd's gate, and Dá'údí entertained towards him a fanatical hatred, because the title of Shujá'u'l-Mulk had been conferred upon him, while Dá'údí himself bore the title of Shujá'u'l-Ḥukamá, and grudged that the other should be so entitled. And the Amír, well knowing this, used continually to embroil Dá'údí with him, and this good Musulmán was at his wits' end by reason of him.

In short, as to Maḥmúd Dá'údí's madness there was no doubt, and I have mentioned this matter in order that the King may know that folly and insanity are amongst the conditions of this craft.

Anecdote xxvi.

Ḥakím-i-Mawṣilí was one of the order of Astrologers in Níshápúr, and was in the service of that great Minister Nidhámu'l-Mulk of Ṭús, who used to consult with him on matters of importance, and seek his advice and opinion. Now when Mawṣilí's years were drawing to a close, and great decrepitude appeared in him, and feebleness of body began to show itself, so that he was no longer able to perform these long journeys, he asked the Minister's permission to go and reside at Níshápúr, and to send thence annually the almanac and forecast for the year.

Now the Minister Nidhámu'l-Mulk was also in the decline of life and near the term of existence; and he said: "Look

[1] A. has "six."

so much at the lapse of my life as to observe when the dissolution of my elemental nature will occur, and at what epoch that inevitable fate and unavoidable sentence will befal."

Ḥakím-i-Mawṣilí answered, "Six months after my death." So the Minister ordered him to receive all things needful for his comfort, and Mawṣilí went to Níshápúr, and there abode in ease, sending each year the forecast and calendar. And whoever came to the Minister from Níshápúr, he used first to enquire, "How is Mawṣilí?" And so soon as he had news of his safety, he would become joyous and cheerful.

At length, in the year A.H. 485 (= A.D. 1092–3), one arrived from Níshápúr, and the Minister enquired of him concerning Mawṣilí. The man replied, with an obeisance: "May he who holdeth the chief seat in al-Islám be the heir of many lifetimes! Mawṣilí hath quitted this mortal body." "When?" enquired the Minister. "In the middle of Rabí' the First" (April 11–May 11, A.D. 1092), answered the man, "he yielded up his life for him who sitteth in the chief seat of al-Islám."

The Minister thereat was mightily put about, and was warned, and looked into all his affairs, and confirmed all his pious endowments, and gave effect to his bequests,[1] and wrote his last testament, and set free such of his slaves as had earned his approval, and discharged the debts which he owed, and, so far as lay in his power, made all men content with him, and sought forgiveness from his adversaries, and made his will, and so sat awaiting his fate until the month of Ramaḍán (A.H. 485 = Oct. 5–Nov. 4, A.D. 1092), when he fell a martyr at the hands of that Sect (i.e. the Assassins); may God make illustrious his Proof, and accord him an ample Approval!

Since the Ascendant ruling his nativity, the observation, the Lord of the Sign, and the dominant factor were rightly

[1] A., which I follow, has: ' توقیع کرد (L. اوزارا) ادرارات را

determined, and the Astrologer was expert and accomplished, naturally the prognostication came true.[1]

Anecdote xxvii.

In the year A.H. 506 (A.D. 1112–1113) Khwája Imám 'Umar Khayyám[2] and Khwája Imám Mudhaffar-i-Isfizárí had alighted in the city of Balkh, in the street of the Slave-sellers, in the house of Amír Abú Sa'd,[3] and I had joined that assembly. In the midst of our convivial gathering I heard that Argument of Truth (*Ḥujjatu'l-Ḥaqq*) 'Umar say, "My grave will be in a spot where the trees will shed their blossoms on me twice in each year." This thing seemed to me impossible, though I knew that one such as he would not speak idle words.

When I arrived at Níshápúr in the year A.H. 530 (A.D. 1135–6), it being then some years since that great man had veiled his countenance in the dust, and this lower world had been bereaved of him, I went to visit his grave on the eve of a Friday (seeing that he had the claim of a master on me), taking with me a guide to point out to me his tomb. So he brought me out to the Híra[4] Cemetery; I turned to the left, and his tomb lay at the foot of a garden-wall, over which pear-trees and peach-trees thrust their heads, and on his grave had fallen so many flower-leaves that his dust was hidden beneath the flowers. Then I remembered that saying which I had heard from him

[1] I confess that these astrological terms are beyond me. Several of them (e.g. *hayláj* and *kadkhuda*) are explained in the section of the *Mafátiḥu'l-'ulúm* which treats of Astrology (ed. Van Vloten, pp. 225–232). The first part of the sentence runs:

چون طالع مولود و رصد و کدخدا و هیلاج درست بود . . .

[2] A. and B. have *Khayyámí*, the form usually found in Arabic books.

[3] A. adds جرّه, while B. calls him بو سعید حرّه.

[4] So A., B., and L., but in the margin of the latter is the following gloss:

حیرت چو میری ایوان و طاق و رواق (برهان)

in the city of Balkh, and I fell to weeping, because on the face of the earth, and in all the regions of the habitable globe, I nowhere saw one like unto him. May God (blessed and exalted is He) have mercy upon him,[1] by His Grace and His Favour! Yet although I witnessed this prognostication on the part of that Proof of the Truth 'Umar, I did not observe that he had any great belief in astrological predictions; nor have I seen or heard of any of the great [scientists] who had such belief.[2]

Anecdote XXVIII.

In the winter of the year A.H. 508 (= A.D. 1114–1115) the King sent a messenger to Merv to the Prime Minister Ṣadru'd-Dín Muḥammad b. al-Muḍhaffar (on whom be God's Mercy) bidding him tell Khwája Imám 'Umar to select a favourable time for him to go hunting, such that therein should be no snowy or rainy days. For Khwája Imám 'Umar was in the Minister's company, and used to lodge at his house.

So the Minister sent a messenger to summon him, and told him what had happened. The Khwája went and looked into the matter for two days, and made a careful choice; and he himself went and superintended the mounting of the King at the auspicious moment. When the King was mounted and had gone but a short distance,[3] the sky became overcast with clouds, a wind arose, and snow and mist supervened. All present fell to laughing, and the King desired to turn back; but Khwája Imám ['Umar] said: "Have no anxiety, for this very hour the clouds will clear away, and during these five days there will be not a drop of moisture." So the King rode on, and the clouds

[1] A. has: "cause him to dwell in Paradise."

[2] L. omits this last sentence.

[3] I suppose this to be the meaning of the words: و یک بانگ زمین برفت, which is the reading of all three texts.

opened, and during those five days there was no moisture, and no one saw a cloud.

But prognostication by the stars, though a recognized art, is not to be relied on, and whatever the astrologer predicts he must leave to Fate.

Anecdote XXIX.

It is incumbent on the King, wherever he goes, to prove such companions and servants as he has with him; and if one is a believer in the Holy Law, and scrupulously observes the rites and duties thereof, he should make him an intimate, and treat him with honour, and confide in him; but if otherwise, he should drive him away, and guard even the outskirts of his environment from his very shadow. Whoever does not believe in the religion and law of Muḥammad the Chosen One, in him can no man trust, and he is unlucky, both to himself and to his master.

In the beginning of the reign of the king Sulṭán Ghiyáthu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Muḥammad b. Maliksháh, styled Qasímu Amíri'l-Múminín (may God illuminate his proof!),[1] the King of the Arabs, Ṣadaqa,[2] revolted and withdrew his neck from the yoke of allegiance, and with fifty thousand Arab horsemen marched on Baghdad from Hilla. The Prince of Believers al-Mustaḍhhir bi'lláh had sent off letter after letter and courier after courier to Isfahán,[3] summoning the Sultan, who sought from the astrologers the determination of the auspicious moment. But no such determination could be made which would suit the Lord of the King's Ascendant, which was retrograde. So they said, "We find no auspicious moment." "Seek it, then," said he; and he was very urgent in the matter, and much vexed in mind. And so the astrologers fled.

[1] Reigned A.H. 498–511, A.D. 1104–1117.

[2] Cf. Houtsma's ed. of al-Bundárí's *History of the Seljúqs*, p. 185, where an Amír of this name is mentioned under the year A.H. 531.

[3] A. calls it *Sipáhán*.

Now there was a stranger of Jayy[1] who had a shop by the Gate of the Dome and who used to take omens; and men and women of every class used to visit him, and he used to write for them amulets and charms, but he had no profound knowledge. By means of an acquaintance with one of the King's servants he brought himself to the King's notice, and said: "I will find an auspicious moment: depart in that, and if thou dost not return victorious, then cut off my head."

So the King was pleased, and mounted his horse at the moment declared auspicious by him, and gave him two hundred dínárs of Nísháṕúr, and went forth, fought with Ṣadaqa, defeated his army, took him captive, and put him to death. And when he returned triumphant and victorious to Isfahán, he heaped favours on the soothsayer, ordered him to receive great honours, and made him one of his intimates. Then he summoned the astrologers and said: "You did not find an auspicious moment, it was this stranger of Jayy who found it; and I went, and God justified the omen.[2] Probably Ṣadaqa had sent you a bribe so that you should not name the auspicious time." Then they all fell to the earth, lamenting and exclaiming: "The astrologers were not satisfied with that moment. If you wish, write a message and send it to Khurásán, and see what Khwája Imám 'Umar Khayyám says."

The King saw that the poor wretches did not speak amiss. He therefore summoned one of his courtiers and said: "Invite this stranger of Jayy[3] to your house, drink wine with him, and treat him with kindly familiarity; and, when he is overcome with wine, enquire of him, saying,

[1] A suburb of Isfahán, as is explained in a marginal gloss in L., which has this reading: غریب جی (printed in the text as one word, غریبجی). A. reads غزنوی and B. غربوی.

[2] A. adds "Wherefore did ye act thus?"

[3] L. is constant in this reading, but here A. has غربنجی را and B. غرانجی را.

'Was that moment determined by thee not good? For the astrologers find fault with it. Tell me the secret of this.'"

Then the courtier did so, and, when his guest was drunk, made this enquiry of him. The soothsayer answered: "I knew that one of two things must happen; either that army would be defeated, or this one. If the former, then I should be loaded with honours; and if the latter, how should the King concern himself with me?"

Next day the courtier reported this conversation to the King, who ordered the strange soothsayer to be expelled, because one who held such views about good Musulmáns was unlucky. Then[1] the King summoned his own astrologers and restored his confidence to them, saying: "I knew that this soothsayer never said his prayers, and one who agrees not with our Holy Law agrees not with us."

Anecdote XXX.

In the year A.H. 547 (A.D. 1152–3) a battle was fought between that king of blessed memory Sanjar b. Malikshán and my lord the king 'Alá'u'd-Dín wa'd-Dunyá; and the army of Ghúr was defeated, and my lord the King of the East was taken prisoner, and my lord's son the Just King Shamsu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín Maḥmúd b. Mas'úd was taken captive at the hands of the Commander-in-chief (*Amír-i-sipahsálár*). The ransom was fixed at fifty thousand dínárs of pure gold,[2] and a messenger from him was to go to the Court at Bámiyán to ask for this sum; and when it should be sent the Prince was to be released, while the King himself was granted his liberty by the Lord of the World (Sanjar), who, moreover, at the time of his departure from

[1] A. adds "they killed him, and . . . ."

[2] The words بر نقش هریوه are omitted in L. For this meaning of هریوه see Vüller's *Persian Lexicon*, s.v.

Herát, granted him a robe of honour; and it was under these circumstances that I arrived to wait upon him.[1]

One day, being extremely sad at heart, he signed to me, and enquired when this deliverance would finally be accomplished, and when this consignment would arrive. So I took an observation that day with a view to making this prognostication, and worked out the ascendant, exerting myself to the utmost, and [ascertained that] there was an indication of a satisfactory solution to the question on the third day. So next day I came and said: "To-morrow at the time of the first prayer the messenger will arrive." All that night the Prince was thinking about this matter. Next day I hastened to wait on him. "To-day," said he, "is the time fixed." "Yes," I replied; and continued with him till the first prayer. When the call to prayer was sounded, he remarked reproachfully: "The first prayer has arrived, but still no news!" Even while he was thus speaking, a courier arrived bringing the good tidings that the consignment had come, consisting of fifty thousand dínárs, sheep, and other things, and that 'Izzu'd-Dín Maḥmúd,[2] the steward of Prince Ḥusámu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín, was in charge of the convoy. My lord Shamsu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín was invested with the King's dress of honour, and very shortly regained his beloved home, and from that time his affairs have prospered more and more every day (may they continue so to do!). And thence it was that he used to treat me with the utmost kindness and say: "Nidhámí, do you remember making such a prognostication in Herát, and how it came true? I wanted to fill thy mouth with gold, but there I had no gold, though here

[1] The text is rather obscure here. It runs: و از جانب [جوانب] سلطان عالم او خود مطلق بود بوقت حرکت کردن از هرات تشریف [نامزد] کرده بود و من بنده درین حال بخدمت رسیدم.

[2] A. adds حاجی.

I have." Then he called for gold, and filled my mouth therewith till it would contain no more, whereupon he said, "Hold out thy sleeve." So I held it out, and he filled it also with gold. May God (blessed and exalted is He) maintain this dynasty in daily-increasing prosperity, and long spare these two Princes to my august Master, by His favour, bounty, and grace! Amen, O Lord of the Worlds!

Fourth Discourse.

On the Nature of the Science of Medicine, and the grades[1] *of Physicians.*

Medicine is that art whereby the health of the human body is preserved; whereby, when it wanes, it is restored; and whereby the body is embellished by long hair, a clean complexion, freshness and vigour.

Excursus.

The physician should be of tender disposition, of wise and gentle nature, and more especially an acute observer, capable of benefiting everyone by accurate diagnoses, that is to say, by rapid deduction of the unknown from the known. And no physician can be of tender disposition if he fails to recognize the nobility of man; nor of philosophical nature unless he knows Logic, nor an acute observer unless he be strengthened by God's guidance; and he who is not an acute observer will not arrive at a correct understanding of the cause of any ailment, for he must form his opinion from the pulse, which has a systole, a diastole, and a pause between these two movements.

Now here there is a difference of opinion amongst physicians, one school maintaining that it is impossible by palpation to gauge the movement of contraction; but

[1] For مراتب A. has هداية.

that most accomplished of the moderns, that talented man Abú 'Alí al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abdu'lláh Síná (Avicenna),[1] says in his book the *Qánún* that the movement of contraction also can be gauged, though with difficulty, in thin subjects;[2] and that the pulse is of two sorts, each of which is divided into three subordinate varieties, namely, its two extremes and its mean; but, unless the Divine guidance assist the physician in his search for the truth, his thought will not hit the mark. So also the examination of the urine, and the observing of its colour and peculiarities, and the deducing somewhat from each colour, is no easy matter; for these deductions are dependent on Divine help and Heavenly guidance; and this is the quality which we have already mentioned under the name of acumen. And unless the physician knows Logic, and understands the meaning of species and genus, he cannot discriminate between that which appertains to the category and that which is peculiar to the individual, and so will not recognize the cause of the disease. And, failing to recognize the cause, he will not succeed in his treatment. But let us now give an illustration, so that it may be known that it is as we say. Disease[3] is the genus; fever, cold, headache, dizziness, scarlet fever, and jaundice are the species, each of which is distinguished from the others by a diagnostic sign, while each itself is again divisible into varieties. For instance, 'Fever' is the genus, wherein quotidian, tertian, double tertian, quartan, and the sub-varieties of each, are distinguished from each other by a special diagnostic sign, so that, for instance, quotidian is distinguished from other

[1] See De Slane's translation of *Ibn Khallikán*, vol. i, pp. 440–446; von Kremer's *Culturgeschichte d. Orients*, vol. ii, pp. 455, 456; Wüstenfeld's *Gesch. d. Arab. Aerzte*, pp. 64–75, etc. The *Qánún* was printed at Rome, A.D. 1593.

[2] A. reads:

حرکت انقباض‌را در توان یافت بدشواری اندر تنها بی گوشت

This is no doubt the correct reading, not تنهائي گوشت as in B. and L.

[3] L. here has آمد جنس محض, instead of the correct reading of A., مرض.

fevers by the fact that the longest period thereof is a day and a night, and that in it there is no rigor, heaviness, lassitude, nor pain.[1] Again, inflammatory fever[2] is distinguished from other fevers by this, that when it lays hold of anyone it does not abate for several days; while tertian is distinguished by the fact that it comes one day and not the next; and double tertian by this, that one day it comes with a higher temperature and a shorter interval, and another day in a milder form with a longer interval; while, lastly, quartan is distinguished by this, that for two days it does not come and the third day it comes.

Each of these, again, comprises several varieties, and each of these in turn sundry sub-varieties; and if the physician be versed in Logic and possessed of acumen, he will know which fever it is, what the *materies morbi* is, and whether it is simple or compound, and he can then at once proceed to treat it; but if he fail to recognize the disease, then let him turn to God and seek help from Him; and so likewise, if he fail in his treatment, let him have recourse to God, seeing that the issue is in His hands.

Anecdote XXXI.

In the year A.H. 512,[3] in the Druggists' Bazaar of Nísháṕúr, at the shop of Muḥammad Ḍakhm the Physician,[4] I heard Khwája Imám Abú Bakr Daqqáq saying: "A certain man of Nísháṕúr[5] was seized with the colic and called me in. I examined him, and proceeded to treat him,

[1] و درو تکسّر و گرانی و کاهلی و درد نباشد.

[2] تب مطبقه. See Schlimmer's *Terminologie Médico-Pharmaceutique* (lithographed at Tihrán, A.H. 1874), pp. 192–197 and 285. Perhaps, however, it should here be translated "remittent."

[3] A. has A.H. 502 (= A.D. 1108–9).

[4] The readings vary. A. has محمّد ضخم; B. محمّد صحیم; L. ضخم only.

[5] A. adds "in the year [A.H.] 502."

fulfilling the utmost of my endeavour in this matter; but no improvement in his health took place. Three days elapsed. At the time of evening prayer I returned, thinking that the patient would pass away at midnight. I went up on to the roof, but could hardly sleep for anxiety. In the morning when I awoke I said to myself, 'The patient will have passed away.' I turned my face in that direction, but heard no sound [of lamentation] which might indicate his passing. I repeated the *Fátiḥa*, and hastened in that direction, saying: 'O my God and my Lord, Thou Thyself hast said in the Sure Book and Indubitable Scripture, "*And we send down in the Qur'án what is a Healing and a Mercy to true believers.*"'[1] For I was filled with regret, seeing that he was a young man, and in easy circumstances. Then I performed the minor ablution, went to the oratory, and repeated the customary prayer. One knocked at the door of the house. When I went to look who was there, it was one of his household, who gave good tidings, saying, 'He hath passed out of danger'; and, on my enquiring when, added, 'Just now he obtained relief.' Then I knew that the patient had been relieved by the blessing of the *Fátiḥa* of the Scripture, and that this draught had been dispensed from the Divine Dispensary. For I have put this to the proof, administering this draught in many cases, in all of which it proved beneficial, and resulted in restoration to health."

Therefore the physician should be of good faith, and should venerate the commands and prohibitions of the Holy Law. And on the science of Medicine he should read the "Aphorisms" (*Fuṣúl*) of Hippocrates, the "Questions" (*Masá'il*) of Ḥunayn b. Isḥáq,[2] the "Guide" (*Murshid*) of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá of Ray (ar-Rází),[3] and Nílí's "Commentary"[4]; and after he has read and learned these

[1] Qur'án, xvii, 84.

[2] See Wüstenfeld's *Geschichte d. Arab. Aerzte*, No. 69, pp. 26–29. He was born A.H. 194 (A.D. 809), and died A.H. 260 (A.D. 873).

[3] Ibid., No. 98, pp. 40–49. He is known in Europe as Rasis or Rhases.

[4] For شرح نيلى A. has شرع نيلى.

volumes above enumerated with a kind and careful master, he should diligently study with a congenial teacher the following intermediate works, to wit, the "Thesaurus" (*Dhakhíra*) of Thábit b. Qurra, the *Manṣúrí*[1] of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá of Ray, the "Direction" (*Hidáya*) of the younger[2] Abú Bakr, or the "Sufficiency" (*Kifáya*) of Aḥmad Farrukh, or the "Aims" (*Aghráḍ*) of Sayyid Isma'íl Jurjání.[3] Then he should take up one of the more detailed treatises, such as the "Sixteen (Treatises," *Sitta 'ashar*) of Galen, or the "Compendium" (*Ḥáwí*) of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá, or the "Complete Practitioner" (*Kámilu'ṣ-Ṣanáʻat*), or the "Hundred Chapters" (*Sad Báb*) of Abú Sahl Masíḥí,[4] or the *Qánún* of Abú 'Alí (Avicenna),[5] or the *Dhakhíra-i-Khwárazmsháhí*,[6] and read it in his leisure moments; or, if he desires to be independent of other works, he may content himself with the *Qánún*.

The Lord of the Two Worlds and the Guide of the Two Grosser Races says: "*Every kind of game is in the belly of the wild ass.*"[7] All this has been set forth by the *Qánún*, so that much may be effected therewith; and whoever has mastered the first volume of the *Qánún*, to him nothing will be hidden of the general principles and applications of Medicine, for if Hippocrates and Galen could return to life, it would be proper that they should do reverence to this book. Yet have I heard a wonderful thing, to wit, that one hath taken exception to Abú 'Alí in respect of this work,

[1] See Wüstenfeld, op. cit., p. 43, No. 2. The full title of the work is: كتاب الطبّ المنصورى.

[2] Or "later" (آخرين), but A. reads اخوين. I cannot identify this person.

[3] See Wüstenfeld, op. cit., No. 165, p. 95.

[4] Avicenna's master, d. A.H. 390 (A.D. 1000). See Wüstenfeld, loc. cit., pp. 59, 60, No. 118.

[5] See n. 1 on p. 107 *supra*.

[6] See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 466, 467.

[7] Meaning that every kind of game is inferior to the wild ass. It is said proverbially of anyone who excels his fellows. See Lane's *Arabic Lexicon*, p. 2357, s.v. فرأ.

and hath embodied his objections in a book, which he hath named "the Rectification of the Qánún"[1]; and it is as though I looked at both books, and perceived what a distinguished man the author of the first was, while the author of the second merits only censure. For what right has anyone to find fault with so great a man, when the very first question which he meets with in a book of his which he comes across is difficult to his comprehension? For four thousand years the physicians of antiquity travailed in spirit and melted their very souls in order to reduce the science of Medicine to some fixed order, yet could not effect this, until, after the lapse of this period, that absolute philosopher and most mighty thinker Aristotle portioned and parcelled out[2] Logic and Philosophy as in a balance, and measured them by the measure of analogy, so that all doubt and ambiguity departed from them, and they were established on a sure and critical basis. And during these fifteen centuries which have elapsed since his time, no philosopher has won to the inmost essence of his doctrine, nor travelled the high road of his pre-eminence, save that most excellent of the moderns, the Philosopher of the East and the West, the Proof of Islám,[3] Abú 'Alí b. 'Abdu'lláh b. Síná (Avicenna). He who finds fault with these two great men will have cast himself out from the company of the wise, ranked himself with madmen, and proved himself to be of the number of those who lack intelligence. May God (blessed and exalted is He) keep us from such stumblings and vain imaginings!

So, if the physician hath mastered the first volume of the *Qánún*, and hath attained to forty years of age, he will be worthy of confidence; and when he hath reached this degree, he should keep ever with him some of the smaller treatises

[1] اصلاح قانون.

[2] L. has منطق و حکمت صُرّه و نقد کرد. For و صرّه A. substitutes حدود. In the margin of L. صرّه is glossed as = جمع.

[3] A. has "the Proof of God unto His creatures."

composed by proved masters, such as the "Gift of Kings" (*Tuḥfatu'l-Mulúk*) of Muḥammad Zakariyyá [ar-Rází], or the *Kifáya* of Ibn Sandúna of Isfahán, or the "Provision against all sorts of error in Medical Treatment" (*Tadáruku anwá'i'l-khaṭá fi't-tadbíri'ṭ-ṭibbí*), of which Abú 'Alí (Avicenna) is the author; or the *Khafiyyu'l-'Alá'i*,[1] or the "Memoranda" (*Yádigár*) of Sayyid Isma'íl Jurjání.[2] For no reliance can be placed on the Memory, which is located in the posterior part of the brain, for it may delay to afford him assistance in carrying out these prescriptions.

Therefore every king who would choose a physician must see that these conditions which have been enumerated are found in him; for it is no light matter to commit one's life and soul into the hands of any ignorant quack, or to entrust the care of one's health to any reckless charlatan.

Anecdote xxxii.

Bukht-Yíshú',[3] a Christian of Baghdad, was a skilful physician and a true and tender man; and he was attached to the service of al-Ma'mún the Caliph. Now one of the children of Háshim, a kinsman of al-Ma'mún, was attacked with dysentery, and al-Ma'mún, being greatly attached to him, sent Bukht-Yíshú' to treat him. So he, for al-Ma'mún's sake, girded up his loins in service, and treated him in various ways, but to no purpose, for the case passed beyond his powers. So Bukht-Yíshú' was ashamed before al-Ma'mún; but al-Ma'mún said to him: "Be not ashamed, for thou didst fulfil thine utmost endeavour, but God Almighty doth not desire that it should succeed. Acquiesce in Fate, even as we have acquiesced." Bukht-Yíshú', seeing al-Ma'mún thus hopeless, replied: "One other remedy remains, and it is a perilous one; but, trusting to the fortune of the Prince of Believers, I will attempt it, and perchance God Most High may cause it to succeed."

[1] See Hájí Khalífa, No. 4,738.

[2] See Wüstenfeld, op. cit., p. 95, No. 165. He died A.H. 530.

[3] See Wüstenfeld, op. cit., p. 17, No. 30. Concerning this and similar names, see Noeldeke's *Geschichte d. Artakhshir-i-Pápakán*, p. 49, n. 4.

Now the patient was going to stool fifty or sixty times a day. So Bukht-Yíshú' prepared a purgative and administered it to him; and on the day whereon he took the purgative, his diarrhœa was still further increased; but next day it stopped. So the physicians asked him, "What hazardous treatment was that which thou didst adopt yesterday?" He answered: "The *materies morbi* of this diarrhœa was from the brain, and until it was dislodged from the brain the flux would not cease. I feared that if I administered a purgative the patient's strength might not be equal to the increased diarrhœa; but at length, when I plucked up heart, [I saw that] there was hope in giving the purgative, but none in withholding it. So I gave it, and God Most High vouchsafed a cure; and my opinion was justified, namely, that if the purgative were withheld, only the death of the patient was to be expected; but that if it were administered, there was a possibility of either life or death. Therefore, seeing that to give the purgative was the better course, I administered it."

Anecdote xxxiii.

The great Shaykh Abú 'Alí Síná (Avicenna) relates as follows in the "Book of the Origin and the Return" (*Kitábu'l-Mabdá wa'l-Ma'ád*), at the end of the section on Contingent Being:—

"A curious anecdote hath come to me which I have heard related.[1] A certain physician presented himself at the court of one of the House of Sámán, and was well received, and rose to so high a position of trust that he used to enter the women's apartments and feel the pulses of its carefully-guarded and closely-veiled inmates.

[1] L. has در کتاب مبدأ و معاد در آخر فصل امکان وجود نادرهٔ بمن رسید که شنودم. A. after نادرهٔ adds عن هذه النفس همیگوید که and reads . . که رسید و شنودم.

One day he was sitting with the King in the women's apartments in a place where it was impossible for any [other] male creature to pass. The King demanded food, and it was brought by the handmaidens. One of these presided over the table. As she was placing it on the ground, she bent down.[1] When she desired to stand upright again, she was unable to do so, but remained as she was, by reason of a rheumatic swelling of the joints.[2] The King turned to the physician and said, 'Cure her at once in whatever way you can.' Here was no opportunity for any physical method of treatment, since for such no appliances were available. So the physician bethought himself of a psychical treatment, and bade them remove the veil from her head, whereon she made a movement. Then he bade them remove her skirt,[3] whereon she raised her head and stood upright.

"'What method of procedure was this?' enquired the King. 'At that juncture,' replied the physician, 'a rheumatic swelling appeared in her joints. I bade them uncover her head, that perchance she might be ashamed, and might make some movement because this condition was displeasing to her. So the whole of her head and face was uncovered, and anger was apparent therein.[4] I then abandoned this, and ordered her skirt to be removed. She was filled with shame, and a flush of heat was produced within her, such that it dissolved the rheumatic humour. Then she stood upright, and, restored to her erect position, became sound once again.'

"Had this physician not been skilled in his art, he would never have thought of this treatment; and had he failed,

[1] For L.'s reading . . خوان بر زمین نهاد دو تو شد . A. has:— خوان از سر خوانگهش فرو گرفت ' دو تو شد و بر زمین نهاد . .

[2] L. has ' بجهة ریح غلیظی که در مفاصل او حادث آمد .

[3] Literally "trousers," of the kind worn by women in the East.

[4] Instead of تغیّر پدید آمد (L.'s reading) A. has تغیّر نگرفت, "she underwent no change."

he would have forfeited the King's regard. Hence a knowledge of natural science[1] and an apprehension of its facts form a part of this subject."

Anecdote xxxiv.

Another of the House of Sámán, Amír Manṣúr b. Núḥ b. Naṣr,[2] became afflicted with an ailment which grew chronic, and remained established, and the physicians were unable to cure it. So the Amír Manṣúr sent messengers to summon Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá of Ray to treat him. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá came as far as the Oxus, but when he saw it he said: "I will not embark in the boat: God Most High saith, '*Do not cast yourselves into peril with your own hands*'[3]; and, again, it is surely a thing remote from wisdom voluntarily to place one's self in so hazardous a position." Ere the Amír's messenger had gone to Bukhárá and returned, he had composed the treatise entitled *Manṣúrí*.[4] So when a notable arrived with a special led-horse, bringing a message intermingled with promises of reward, he handed this *Manṣúrí* to him, saying: "I am this book, and by this book thou canst attain thine object, so that there is no need of me."

When the book reached the Amír he was in grievous suffering, wherefore he sent a thousand dínárs and one of his own private horses, saying: "Strive to move him by all these kind attentions, but, if they prove fruitless, bind his hands and feet, place him in the boat, and fetch him across." So, just as the Amír had commanded, they urgently entreated Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá, but to no purpose. Then they bound his hands and feet, placed him in the boat, and, when they had ferried him across the river, released him. Then they brought the led-horse, fully caparisoned, before him, and he mounted in the best

[1] So L., which reads طبيعى, but A. has طبع, "human nature."

[2] That is, Manṣúr I, who reigned A.H. 350–366 (A.D. 961–976). This anecdote is given in the *Akhláq-i-Jaláli* (ed. Lucknow, A.H. 1283), pp. 168–170.

[3] Qur'án, ii. v. 191.

[4] See n. 1 on p. 110 *supra*.

of humours, and set out for Bukhárá. And when they enquired of him, saying, "We feared to bring thee across the water lest thou shouldst cherish enmity against us, but thou didst not so, nor do we see thee vexed in heart," he replied: "I know that every year several thousand persons cross the Oxus without being drowned, and that I too should probably not be drowned; still, it was possible that I might perish, and if this had happened they would have continued till the Resurrection to say, 'A foolish fellow was Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá, in that, of his own free will, he embarked in a boat and so was drowned.' But when they bound me, I escaped all danger of censure; for then they would say, 'They bound the poor fellow's hands and feet, so that he was drowned.' Thus should I have been excused, not blamed, in case of my being drowned."

When they reached Bukhárá, he saw the Amír and began to treat him, exerting his powers to the utmost, but without relief to the patient. One day he came in before the Amír and said: "To-morrow I am going to try another method of treatment, but for the carrying out of it you will have to sacrifice such-and-such a horse and such-and-such a mule," the two being both animals of note, so that in one night they had gone forty parasangs.

So next day he took the Amír to the hot bath of Jú-yi-Múlíyán, outside the palace, leaving that horse and mule ready equipped and tightly girt in the charge of his own servant; while of the King's retinue and attendants he suffered not one to enter the bath. Then he brought the King into the middle of the hot bath, and poured over him warm water, after which he prepared a draught and gave it to him to drink. And he kept him there till such time as the humours in his joints were matured.

Then he himself went out and put on his clothes, and, taking a knife in his hand, came in, and stood for a while reviling the King, saying: "Thou didst order me to be bound and cast into the boat, and didst conspire against my life. If I do not destroy thee as a punishment for this, I am not Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá!"

The Amír was furious, sprang from his place, and, partly from anger, partly from fear of the knife and dread of death, rose to his feet. When Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá saw the Amír on his feet, he turned round and went out from the bath, and he and his servant mounted, the one the horse, the other the mule, and turned their faces towards the Oxus. At the time of the second prayer they crossed the river, and halted nowhere till they reached Merv. When Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá reached Merv, he alighted, and wrote a letter to the Amír, saying: "May the life of the King be prolonged in health of body and effective command! According to agreement this servant treated his master, doing all that was possible. There was, however, an extreme weakness in the natural caloric, and the treatment of the disease by ordinary means would have been a protracted affair. I therefore abandoned it, and carried you to the hot bath for psychical treatment, and administered a draught, and left you so long as to bring about a maturity of the humours. Then I angered the King, so that an increase in the natural caloric was produced, and it gained strength until those humours, already softened, were dissolved: But henceforth it is not expedient that a meeting should take place between myself and the King."

Now after the Amír had risen to his feet and Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá had gone out, the Amír sat down and at once fainted. When he came to himself he went forth from the bath and called to his servants, saying, "Where has the physician gone?" They answered, "He came out from the bath, and mounted the horse, while his attendant mounted the mule, and went off."

Then the Amír knew what object he had had in view. So he came forth on his own feet from the hot bath; and tidings of this ran through the city, and his servants and retainers and people rejoiced greatly, and gave alms, and offered sacrifices, and held high festival. But they could not find the physician, seek him as they might. And on the seventh day Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá's servant

arrived, riding the horse and leading the mule, and presented the letter. The Amír read it, and was astonished, and excused him, and sent him a horse, and a robe of honour, and equipment, and a cloak, and arms, and a turban, and a male slave, and a handmaiden; and further commanded that there should be assigned to him in Ray from the estates of al-Ma'mún[1] a yearly allowance of two[2] thousand dínárs and two hundred ass-loads of corn. These marks of honour he forwarded to him by the hand of a trusty messenger, together with his apologies. So the Amír completely regained his health, and Muḥammad b. Zakariyyá attained his object.

Anecdote XXXV.

Ma'mún Khwárazmsháh[3] had an accomplished Minister named Abu'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. He was a man of learning and a friend of scholars, and consequently many philosophers and men of erudition, such as Abú 'Alí b. Síná, Abú Sahl Masíḥí, Abu'l-Ḥasan Khammár, Abú Naṣr 'Arráq, and Abú Rayḥán [al-Bírúní],[4] gathered about his court.

Now Abú Naṣr 'Arráq was the nephew of Khwárazmsháh, and in all branches of the exact sciences he was second only to Ptolemy the Philosopher; while Abú 'Alí [b Síná] and Abú Sahl Masíḥí were the successors of Aristotle[5] in

[1] The text has از املاک مأمون, but perhaps the last word is to be taken as meaning "settled," "tranquil."

[2] So in L., and so corrected in A. from "twelve thousand."

[3] See p. viii of the Preface to Sachau's translation of al-Bírúní's *Chronology of the Ancient Nations*, and the same scholar's article *Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Chwarezm* in the *Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie* for 1863.

[4] The first, second, and last of these learned men have been already mentioned. The third is probably Abu'l-Khayr al-Ḥasan . . . Ibnu'l-Khammár (Wüstenfeld's *Geschichte d. Arab. Aerzte*, No. 115, pp. 58, 59), who died A.H. 381 (A.D. 991).

[5] The texts have "of Arisṭú and Arisṭáṭalis," as though they were two different persons, instead of two forms of the same name.

the science of Philosophy, which includes all sciences; and Abu'l-Ḥasan Khammár was the third after Hippocrates and Galen in the science of Medicine. And all these were, in this their service, independent of worldly cares, and maintained with one another familiar intercourse and pleasant correspondence.

But Fortune, as is its custom, disapproved of this; though the King would not willingly have destroyed this happiness of theirs, or brought these pleasant days to an end. So a notable arrived from Sulṭán Maḥmúd Yamínu'd-Dawla with a letter, whereof the purport was as follows: "I have heard that there are in attendance on Khwárazmsháh several men of learning, each unrivalled in his science, such as So-and-so and So-and-so. You must send them to my court, so that they may attain the honour of attendance thereat. We rely on being enabled to profit by their knowledge and skill, and request this favour on the part of Khwárazmsháh."

Now the bearer of this message was Khwája Ḥusayn 'Alí Míká'íl, who was one of the most accomplished men of his age, and the wonder of his time amongst his contemporaries, while the prosperity of Sulṭán Yamínu'd-Dawla continued ever on the increase in the zenith of dominion and empire, and the kings of the time used to treat him with every respect and do him homage, and night and day lay down in fear of him. So Khwárazmsháh entertained Ḥusayn 'Alí Míká'íl in the best of lodgings, and ordered him to be supplied with all materials suitable for a prolonged stay; but, before according him an audience, he summoned the philosophers and laid before them the King's letter, saying: "The King is strong, and has a large army recruited from Khurásán and India; and he covets 'Iráq. I cannot refuse to obey his order, or be disobedient to his mandate. What say ye on this matter?"

They answered, "We cannot abandon thy service, nor will we in any wise go to him." But Abú Naṣr and Abu'l-Ḥasan and Abú Rayḥán were eager to go, having heard accounts of the King's munificent gifts and presents. Then

said Khwárazmsháh, "I will summon you before me,[1] and do you take your own way." Then he equipped Abú 'Alí [b. Síná] and Abú Sahl, and arranged a plan for them, and sent with them a guide, and they set off through the desert towards Mázandarán.

Next day Khwárazmsháh accorded Ḥusayn 'Alí Míká'íl an audience, and heaped on him all sorts of compliments. "I have read the letter," said he, "and have acquainted myself with its contents and with the King's command. Abú 'Alí and Abú Sahl are gone, but I will provide equipment for Abú Naṣr and Abú Rayḥán and Abu'l-Ḥasan,[2] so that they may enjoy the honour of entering that August Presence." So in a little while he provided their outfit, and despatched them in the company of Khwája Ḥusayn Míká'íl to Balkh. So they came into the presence of Sulṭán Yamínu'd-Dawla, and joined the King's Court.

Now it was Abú 'Alí [b. Síná] whom the King chiefly desired. He commanded Abú Naṣr the painter to draw his portrait on paper, and he ordered the other artists to make forty copies of the portrait, and these he despatched in all directions, placing them in the hands of persons of note, to whom he said, "There is a man after this likeness, whom they call Abú 'Alí b. Síná. Seek him out and send him to me."

Now when Abú 'Alí and Abú Sahl departed from Khwárazmsháh,[3] ere morning came they had travelled fifteen parasangs. When it was morning they alighted at a place where there were wells, and Abú 'Alí took up an astrological table to see under what ascendant they had started on their journey. "We shall lose our way," said he, "and experience hardships." Said Abú Sahl: "We acquiesce in God's decree. Indeed, I know that I shall not come safely through this journey, for in these two days

[1] L.'s reading is: شمارا پیش خوانم. A. adds the words دو ترک after شما.

[2] Here and elsewhere A. has *Ḥusayn* for *Ḥasan*.

[3] So A. L. has "Khwárazm."

the passage of the degree of my ascendant reaches Capricorn, and that is decisive,[1] so that no hope remains to me. Henceforth our intercourse of souls is at an end."[2]

Then a wind arose and clouds gathered. Abú 'Alí relates as follows. On the fourth day a dust-storm arose, and the world was darkened. They lost their way, for the wind had obliterated the tracks. When the wind lulled, their guide was a thousand times more astray than before; no water was obtainable; and, by reason of the heat of the desert of Khwárazm, Abú Sahl Masíḥí passed away to the World of Eternity. The guide turned back, while Abú 'Alí, with a thousand hardships and difficulties, reached Abíward, whence he went to Ṭús, and finally happened on Níshápúr.

There he found a number of persons who were seeking for Abú 'Alí. He alighted in a quiet spot, where he abode several days, and thence he turned his face towards Gurgán. Qábús,[3] who was king of that province, was a great and accomplished man, and a friend to men of learning. Abú 'Alí knew that there no harm would befal him. When he reached Gurgán, he alighted at a caravanseray. One day a person fell sick in his neighbourhood. Abú 'Alí treated him, and he got better. It is related that Abú 'Alí continued to live in Gurgán,[4] and that his income became considerable and went on increasing day by day. Some time elapsed thus, until one of the relatives of Qábús fell sick. The physicians set themselves to treat him, striving and exerting themselves to the utmost, but the disease was not cured. Now Qábús was greatly attached

[1] The text has كه تسيير درجهٔ طالع من درين دو روز بعيّوق ميرسد وآن [واو A.] قاطع است. The term *tasyír* is explained at p. 230 of Van Vloten's ed. of the *Mafátiḥu'l-'ulúm*.

[2] This last sentence is in A. only.

[3] Qábús b. Washmgír Shamsu'l-Ma'álí, reigned A.H. 366–371 and again A.H. 388–403. To him al-Bírúní dedicated his *Chronology of Ancient Nations*. See Sachau's English translation of that work, Preface, p. viii.

[4] For L.'s reading در گرگان بزيست A. has همى نگريست.

to him. So one of the servants of Qábús did obeisance before him and said: "Into such-and-such a caravanseray hath entered a young man who is a physician, and whose efforts are singularly blessed, so that several persons have been cured at his hands." So Qábús bade them seek him out and bring him to the patient.

So they sought out Abú 'Alí and brought him to the sick man. He saw a youth of comely countenance, whereon the hair had scarcely begun to show itself, and of symmetrical proportions. He sat down, felt his pulse, asked to see his urine, inspected it, and said, "I want a man who knows all the districts and the quarters of this province." So they brought one; and Abú 'Alí placed his hand on the patient's pulse, and bade the other mention the names of the different quarters and districts of Gurgán. So the man began, and continued until he reached the name of a quarter at the mention of which, as he uttered it, the patient's pulse gave a strange flutter. Then Abú 'Alí said, "Now I must have someone who knows all the streets in this quarter." They brought such an one. "Repeat," said Abú 'Alí, "the names of all the houses in this district." So he repeated them till he reached the name of a house at the mention of which the patient's pulse gave the same flutter. "Now," said Abú 'Alí, "I want someone who knows all the households." They brought such an one, and he began to repeat them until he reached a name at the mention of which that same strange flutter was apparent.

Then said Abú 'Alí, "It is finished." Thereupon he turned to the confidential advisers of Qábús, and said: "This lad is in love with such-and-such a girl, in such-and-such a house, in such-and-such a street, in such-and-such a quarter: the girl's face is the patient's cure." The patient, who was listening, heard what was said, and in shame hid his face beneath the clothes. When they made enquiries, it was even as Abú 'Alí had said.[1] Then they

[1] Compare the precisely similar narrative in the first story of the first book of the *Mathnawí* of Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí, and also a passage in the section of the *Dhakhíra-i-Khwárazmshahí* (Book vi, Guftár i, Juz' 2, ch. 3), of which this

reported this matter to Qábús, who was amazed thereat and said, "Bring him before me." So Abú 'Alí b. Síná was brought before Qábús.

Now Qábús had a copy of Abú 'Alí's portrait, which Yamínu'd-Dawla had sent to him. "Why, here is Abú 'Alí!" exclaimed he. "Yes, O most puissant Prince," replied the other. Then Qábús came down from his throne, advanced several paces to meet Abú 'Alí, embraced him, conversed genially with him, sat down beside him, and said, "O greatest and most accomplished philosopher of the world, explain to me the rationale of this treatment!" "O Sire," answered Abú 'Alí, "when I inspected his pulse and urine, I became convinced that his complaint was love, and that he had fallen thus sick through keeping his secret. Had I enquired of him, he would not have told me; so I placed my hand on his pulse while they repeated in succession the names of the different quarters, and when it came to the name of the quarter of his beloved, love moved him, and his heart was stirred, so that I knew she was a dweller in that quarter. Then I enquired the streets, and when I reached the street in question that same movement occurred, and I knew that she dwelt in that street. Then I enquired the names of the households in that street, and the same phenomenon occurred when the house of his beloved was named, so that I knew the house also. Then they made mention of the names of its inhabitants, and when he heard the name of his beloved, he was greatly affected, so that I knew the name of his sweetheart also. Then I told him my conclusion, and he could not deny it, but was compelled to confess the truth."

is a translation:—"Now the lover's pulse is variable and irregular, especially when he sees the object of his affections, or hears her name, or gets tidings of her. In this way one can discover, in the case of one who conceals his love and the name of his beloved, who is the object of his passion, and that in the following way. The physician should place his finger on the patient's pulse, and unexpectedly order the names of those persons amongst whom it may be surmised that his sweetheart is to be found to be repeated, whereupon it will appear from the patient's behaviour who his beloved is, and what her name is. Avicenna (upon whom be God's Mercy) says: 'I have tried this plan, and have succeeded by it in finding out who the beloved object was.'"

Qábús was greatly astonished, and indeed there was good reason for astonishment. "O most eminent and most excellent philosopher of the world," said he, "both the lover and the beloved are the children of my sisters, and are cousins to one another. Choose, then, an auspicious moment that I may unite them in marriage." So the Master [Avicenna] chose a fortunate hour, and in it they were united, and that prince was cured of the ailment which had brought him to death's door. And thereafter Qábús maintained Abú 'Alí in the best manner possible, and thence he went to Ray, and finally became minister to 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, as is well known in history.

Anecdote XXXVI.

The author of the *Kámilu's-Saná'at*[1] was physician to 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla[2] in Párs, in the city of Shíráz. Now in that city there was a porter who used to carry loads of four hundred and five hundred maunds on his back. And every five or six months he would be attacked by headache, and become restless, remaining so for ten[3] days and nights. One time he was attacked by headache, and when seven or eight days had elapsed, he several times determined to destroy himself. At length one day this physician passed by the door of his house. The porter's brother ran to meet him, did reverence to him, and, conjuring him by God Most High, told him his brother's condition. "Bring him to me," said the physician. So they called him before the physician, who saw that he was a big man, of bulky frame, wearing on his feet a pair of shoes each of which weighed a maund and a half. Then the physician asked for and examined his urine; after which, "Bring him with me into the open country," said

[1] See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, p. 237, No. 19. His name was 'Alí b. al-'Abbás al-Majúsí, and he died A.H. 384 (A.D. 994).

[2] The second prince of the House of Buwayh, reigned A.H. 338–372 (A.D. 949–982).

[3] So A., but L. has "two."

he. They did so. On their arrival there, he bade his servant take the turban from his head, and cast it round his neck. Then he ordered another servant to take the shoes off the porter's feet and kick him on the back of the neck. The porter's sons wept, but the physician was a man of consideration, so that they could say nothing. Then the physician ordered his servant to throw the turban round his neck, to mount his horse, and to make the porter run round the plain. The servant did as he was bid. Blood began to flow from the porter's nostrils. "Now," said the physician, "let him alone, that the blood may flow from him, for he stinketh worse than a corpse." The man fell asleep amidst the blood which flowed from his nose, and three hundred dirhams' weight of blood escaped from his nostrils. They bore him thence, and he slept for a day and a night, and his headache passed away and never again returned.

Then 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla questioned the physician as to the rationale of this treatment. "O King," he replied, "for some while the blood had coagulated[1] in his head, and it was impossible to relieve this congestion by means of belladonna,[2] so I devised another treatment, which proved successful."

Anecdote xxxvii.

Melancholia is a disease which physicians often fail to treat successfully, for, though all melancholic diseases are chronic, melancholia is a pathological condition which is [especially] slow to pass.

[1] Perhaps "coagulated" is too strong a word for افسرده, and we should rather translate "for some while he had suffered from congestion of the head", or "cerebral congestion."

[2] فقيرا [A., B. بابارچ [يارچ. The word بارچ, explained as = عنب الثعلب or سگ انگور, seems to mean belladonna. The word فقيرا I do not understand.

Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Yaḥyá, in his work entitled the "Hippocratic Therapeutics" (*Mu'álaja-i-Buqráti*),[1] a book the like of which hath been composed by no one on the Art of Medicine, hath reckoned up the leaders of thought, sages, physicians, scholars, and philosophers who have been afflicted by this disease, for there were many of them; and he continues thus:—

"My master Abú Ja'far b. Muḥammad Abú Sa'd[2] al-Nashawí, commonly known as Ṣarakh,[3] related to me," says he, "on the authority of the Imám Shaykh Muḥammad b. al-'Aqíl al-Qazwíní, on the authority of the Amír Fakhru'd-Dawla Kálinjár the Buwayhid, that one of the princes of the House of Buwayh was attacked by melancholy, and was in such wise affected by the disease that he imagined himself to have been transformed into a cow. Every day he would low like a cow, causing annoyance to everyone, and saying, 'Kill me, so that a good stew may be prepared from my flesh'; until matters reached such a pass that he would eat nothing, and the physicians were unable to do him any good.

"Now at this juncture Abú 'Alí (Avicenna) was prime minister, and the king 'Alá'u'd-Dawla Muḥammad b. Washmgír had the fullest confidence in him, and had entrusted into his hands all the affairs of the kingdom, and placed under his judgment and discretion all matters. And, indeed, since Alexander the Great, whose minister was Aristotle, no king had such a minister as Abú 'Alí. And during the time that he was minister, he used to rise up every morning before dawn and write a couple of pages of the *Shifá*.[4] Then, when the true dawn appeared, he

[1] See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d Arab. Litt.*, p. 237, where his name is given as Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí b. Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭabarí. He was court physician to the Buwayhid prince Ruknu'd-Dawla about A.H. 360 (A.D. 970). MSS. of the work cited exist at Oxford, Munich, and in the India Office.

[2] A. has Sa'dí.

[3] So all texts, صرخ.

[4] One of Avicenna's most celebrated works. See the *British Museum Arabic Catalogue*, p. 745*a*, and the *Supplement* to the same, No. 711, pp. 484, 485.

used to give audience to his disciples, such as Kiyá Ra'ís Bahmanyár, Abú Manṣúr Zíla,[1] 'Abdu'l-Wáḥid Jurjání, Sulayman of Damascus, and me, Abú Kálinjár. We used to continue our studies till the morning grew bright, and then perform our prayers behind him; and as soon as he came forth he was met at the gate of his house by a thousand mounted men, comprising the dignitaries and notables, as well as such as had boons to crave, or were in difficulties. Then the minister would mount, and this company would attend him to the Government Offices. By the time he arrived there, the number of horsemen had reached two thousand. And there he would remain until the morning prayer, and when he retired for refreshment all that company ate with him. Then he took his midday siesta, and when he rose up from this he would perform his prayer, wait on the King, and remain talking and conversing with him until the next prayer; and in all matters of importance there was no third person between him and the King.

"Our object in narrating these details is to show that the minister had no leisure time. Now when the physicians proved unable to cure this young man, the King's intercession was sought, so that he might bid his minister take the case in hand. So 'Alá'u'd-Dawla spoke to him to this effect, and he consented. Then said he, 'Good tidings to the patient, for the butcher has come to kill him!' When the patient heard this, he rejoiced. Then the minister mounted his horse, and came with his retinue to the gate of the patient's house. Taking a knife in his hand, he entered with two attendants, saying, 'Where is this cow, that I may kill it?' The patient made a noise like a cow, meaning, 'He is here.' The minister bade them bind him hand and foot in the middle of the house. The patient ran forward into the middle of the house and lay down on his right side, and they bound his hands and feet firmly, and 'Abú 'Alí then came forward, rubbing

[1] زیله.

the knives together, sat down, and placed his hand on his side, as is the custom of butchers. 'He is very lean,' said he, 'and not fit to be killed: he must eat fodder until he gets fat.' Then he rose up and came out, having bidden them loose his hands and feet, and place food before him, saying, 'Eat, so that thou mayst grow fat.' They did so, and he ate, and recovered his appetite, after which they administered to him drugs and draughts. 'This cow,' said Abú 'Alí, 'must be well fattened'; so the patient ate in the hope that he might grow fat and they might kill him; while the physicians applied themselves vigorously to treating him as the minister had indicated, and in a month's time he completely recovered."

All wise men will perceive that one cannot heal by such methods of treatment save by virtue of extreme excellence, perfect science, and unerring acumen.

Anecdote xxxviii.

In the reign of Maliksháh, and during part of the reign of Sultán Sanjar, there was at Herát a philosopher named Adíb Isma'íl, a very great and perfect man, who, however, derived his income from his receipts as a physician. By him many rare cures of this class were wrought.

One day he was passing through the sheep-slayers' market. A butcher was skinning a sheep, and was eating the warm fat which he took from its belly.[1] Khwája Isma'íl said to a grocer opposite him, "If at any time this fellow should die, inform me of it before they lay him in his grave." "Willingly," replied the grocer. When five or six months had elapsed, one morning it was rumoured abroad that such-and-such a butcher had died suddenly without any premonitory illness. The grocer also went to offer his condolences. He found a number of people tearing their garments, while others were consumed with grief, for

[1] So in L. A. has: "And every now and then he would put his hand into the sheep's belly, pull out some of the warm fat, and swallow it."

the dead man was young, and had little children. Then he remembered the words of Khwája Isma'íl, and hastened to bear the intelligence to him. Said the Khwája, "He has been a long time in dying." Then he arose, took his staff, went to the dead man's house, raised the sheet from the face of the corpse, and began to apply the remedies for apoplexy.[1] On the third day the dead man arose, and, though he remained paralytic, he lived for many years, and men were astonished, for that great man had seen from the first that he would be stricken by apoplexy.

Anecdote xxxix.

The Shaykhu'l-Islám 'Abdu'lláh Anṣárí (may God sanctify his spirit!) conceived a fanatical hatred of the above-mentioned man of science, and several times attempted to do him an injury, and burned his books. Now this fanatical dislike arose from religious motives, for the people of Herát believed that he could restore the dead to life, and this belief was injurious to his own pretensions.[2]

Now the Shaykh fell ill, and in the course of his illness the death-rattle became apparent. However much the physicians treated him, it availed nothing. They were in despair, and so sent a sample of his urine to the Khwája under the name of another, and requested him to prescribe. When he had inspected it, he said: "This is the urine of so-and-so, in whom the death-rattle has become apparent, and whom they are unable to treat. Bid them pound together a *sír* of pistachio-skins and a *sír*[3] of the sugar called *'askarí* and give it to him, so that he may recover; and give him this message: 'You should study science, and not burn men's books.'"

[1] سکتہ.

[2] So B. and L. (دعوی را), but A. reads عوام را, "was injurious to the common folk."

[3] For یک سیر A. has یک سیہ twice, and adds مغز after پوست.

So they made a confection of these two ingredients, and the patient ate it, and immediately the death-rattle ceased, and he recovered.

Anecdote xl.

In the time of Galen, one of the notables of Alexandria was attacked by pain in the finger-tips, and suffered great restlessness, being debarred from all repose. They informed Galen, who prescribed an unguent to be applied to his shoulders. As soon as they did this he was cured. Then they questioned Galen, saying, "What was [the rationale of] this treatment which thou didst adopt?" He replied: "This, that the source of a pain which attacks the finger-tips is the shoulder. I treated the root so that the branch might be cured."

Anecdote xli.

In the year A.H. 547 (= A.D. 1152–3),[1] when a battle took place at Daráward[2] between the King of the World Sanjar b. Malikshán and my master 'Alá'u'd-Dawla al-Ḥusayn (may God immortalize their reigns!), and the Ghúrid army was so grievously smitten by the evil eye,[3] and I wandered about Herát in hiding, because I was connected with the House of Ghúr, and their enemies uttered all manner of accusations against them, and rejoiced malignantly over their reverse; in the midst of this state of things, I say, I chanced one night to be in the house of a certain noble man. When he had eaten bread, I went out to satisfy a need. That noble man, by reason of whom I came to be there, was praising me, saying: "Men know him as a poet, but, apart from his skill in poetry, he is a man

[1] L. has "447," both in figures and writing, an evident error, since Sanjar reigned A.H. 511–552, and 'Alá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn "Jahán-súz" A.H. 544–556. A. omits the figures, and only has "in the year forty-seven."

[2] See B. de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 228, but this reading is conjectural. L. has بدراوية, A. بدراوه.

[3] لشكر غوررا چنان چشم زخمی افتاد.

of great attainments, well skilled in astrology, medicine, polite letter-writing, and other accomplishments."

When I returned to the company, the master of the house showed me much respect, as do those who are in need of some favour, and sat by me for a while. "O so-and-so," said he, "I have one only daughter, and, save her, no other near relative, and she is my treasure. Lately she has fallen a victim to a malady such that during the days of her monthly courses ten or fifteen *sírs*[1] of sanguineous matter come from her, and she is greatly weakened. We have consulted the physicians, several of whom have treated her, but it has availed nothing, for if this issue be stopped, she is attacked with pain and swelling in the stomach, and if it be renewed, it is increased in amount,[2] and she is much weakened, so that I fear its cessation, lest her strength should wholly decline." "Send me word," said I, "when next this state occurs."

When ten days had passed, the patient's mother came to fetch me, and brought her daughter to me. I saw a girl very comely, but despairing of life, and stricken with terror. She at once fell at my feet, saying: "O my father! For God's sake help me, for I am young, and have not yet seen the world." The tears sprang to my eyes, and I said, "Be of good cheer, this is an easy matter." Then I placed my fingers on her pulse. I found the artery strong, and her colour and complexion normal. It was at this time the season of summer, and most of the conditions of an enjoyable life[3] were present, such as a robust habit of body, a strong constitution, a healthy complexion, age, season, country,[4] and occupation. Then I summoned a phlebotomist

[1] A. has "maunds."

[2] L. has: . . و اگر باز شود زیاد میرود . . A. has:
و اگر می کشایند سیلان می افتد . .

[3] L. امور عشرت, A. امور عشره.

[4] For L.'s reading, و بلد, A. has:
و هوای بلد (بلد ?) و عادت و اعراض ملایمه

and bade him open the basilic vein in both her arms; and I sent away all the women. The bad blood continued to flow, and, by pressure and manipulation, I took from her a thousand dirhams' weight of blood, so that she fell down in a swoon. Then I bade them bring fire, and prepare roasted meat beside her, until the house was filled with the smoke of the roasting meat, and it entered her nostrils. Then she came to her senses, moved, groaned, and asked for a drink. Then I prepared for her a gentle stimulant, and treated her for a week, and she recovered, and that illness passed away, and her monthly courses resumed their normal condition. And I called her my daughter, and to-day she is to me as my other children.

Conclusion.

My object in writing this treatise and in setting forth this discourse is not to make mention of my merits or to show forth my services, but rather to guide the beginner, and to glorify my Lord, the learned and just King, Ḥusámu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín, Helper of Islám and the Muslims, Pride of monarchs and kings, noblest of mankind, Shamsu'l-Ma'álí, Maliku'l-Umará, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí b. Mas'úd b. al-Ḥusayn, Nuṣratu Amíri'l-Mú'minín (may God perpetuate his glory!), by whose high station the Kingly Office is magnified. May God (blessed and glorious is He!) continue to embellish it by his Beauty, and may the Divine Protection and Heavenly Grace be a buckler over the form and stature of both, and may the heart of my Lord and Benefactor Fakhru'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín, Bahá'u'l-Islám wa'l-Muslimín, King of the kings of the mountains, be rejoiced, not for a while but for ever, by the continuance of both!

Concluding Note by the Editor of the Ṭihrán ed. of A.H. 1305 (= A.D. 1887–8).

In the beneficent reign of the Sovereign Lord[1] of the nations, the King of kings who is like unto Alexander in pomp, the Remembrancer of Kisrá and Jamshíd, the Monarch of monarchs, the Shadow of God in the lands, by the regards of whose weighty mind all the sciences and arts enjoy the fullest ascendency, and the votaries of every sort of craft and cunning possess the most brilliant position, the King, son of a king and grandson of a king, and the Prince, son of a prince and grandson of a prince, SHÁH NÁṢIRU'D-DÍN QÁJÁR (may God prolong his Power, and extend his Life and his Reign !)—

" O King, who resemblest the Angels in exaltation,
Whose name is held in fair renown by the Supreme Host !"

By the auspicious traits of his nature the treatises of men of culture, which had been clothed in the raiment of oblivion, have become adorned with the ornament of print, while the dust of desolation has been removed from the senses of men of learning. Amongst such treatises is this *Chahár Maqála* of 'Arúḍí, whereof, until this time, the virgin sentences were hidden behind the curtain of concealment, and the maiden anecdotes lay latent and unknown in the leaves. This servant of the Heaven-high Court and house-bred slave of this Immortal Dynasty, Muḥammad Báqir Khán, son of the late Hájí Muḥammad Báqir Khán, Begler-begí, the Qájár, who has devoted most of his time to the transcription of written pages, undertook, at the desire of his High Reverence Mullá 'Alí Khwánsárí, to transcribe this also. Two manuscripts were examined, of which the one had been copied from the other. In the one there were bad mistakes, and in the other worse. It was as though a heap of gold had been acquired, but filled

[1] Literally " Master of the necks."

with alloy and dross. Thus, amongst other errors, تُمّم was written طمیم, and حماحم, حمیم. Therefore, to the utmost of my power, I applied myself, while transcribing the book, to correcting as far as possible the words and sentences occurring in it. My prayer of my spiritual friends, who are the changers of the coins of ideas, is that if a chance mistake occur, or an erroneous idea or word appear, they will overlook it with gracious eyes, and will endeavour to read such correction into the text.

At the time of concluding, a chronogram expressing the date [of publication] occurred to me, and is here submitted:[1]

کتاب چهار مقاله کُلًّا صحیح در طبع آمد ، ۱۳۰۵

By the desire of Ákhúnd-i-Mullá 'Alí Khwánsárí, A.H. 1305, and by the care of His Reverence Abu'l-Qásim, the noble heir of Ákhúnd-i-Mullá Muḥammad.

[1] The meaning is: "The Book of the *Four Discourses* hath been correctly printed in its entirety." The numerical values of the letters composing this sentence, when added up, give 1305.

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PRINTED BY STEPHEN AUSTIN AND SONS, HERTFORD.

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Digitized with financial assistance from
Shri Brihad Bhartiya Samaj
on 31 October, 2019